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Jaron Lanier Virtual Commons ▶ Artisans in the Global Bazaar ▶ HH Dalai Lama ▶ Sherman Alexie

Whole Earth

Access to Tools, Ideas, and Practices FALL 1998

Commerce and the Common Good



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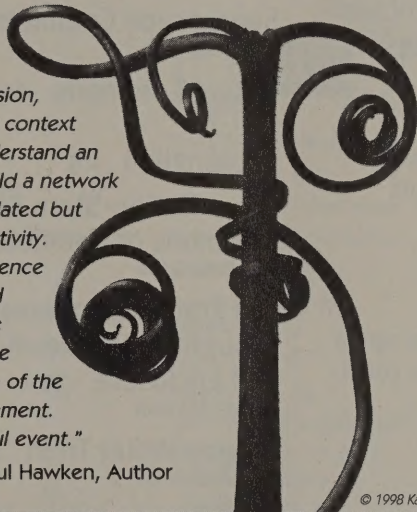
the BIONEERS

VISIONARY SOLUTIONS FOR RESTORING THE EARTH

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"Occasionally a conference can, by the strength of its vision, create a whole new context within which to understand an issue. It can also build a network among people in related but separate fields of activity. The Bioneers Conference achieves all this, and more — being there changes the way one views the landscape of the environmental movement. It is a truly wonderful event."

-Paul Hawken, Author



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Since 1990 the Bioneers Conference has assembled a gathering of visionaries with both feet on the ground to share strategies for restoration. The Bioneers are biological pioneers using nature to heal nature, helping define the coming Age of Biology based on natural principles of kinship, interdependence, cooperation, and community. They are the pilot fish guiding society to a future environment of hope. Their visionary work suggests that technical solutions alone will not restore the earth without a change of heart.

The annual Bioneers Conference brings together leading scientific and social visionaries who have developed both practical and visionary solutions for restoring the Earth. This inspired event has helped galvanize many brilliant practitioners into a thriving culture while equipping participants with models, resources and a community to support their participation in the work. The optimistic Bioneer vision is empowering individuals, companies, governments, and communities to become a primary force in the fabric of restoration.

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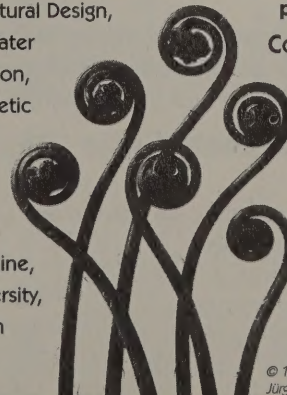
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Fall 1998

Whole Earth

What we hold in common needs more attention: the common good, common resources, common goods, a common heritage of the Earth, mind, and ethics. It's a globallocal world, and in commerce, community, or ecosystem, the search is on for collective trust, security, imaginative frameworks, and the place of freedom (p. 4).

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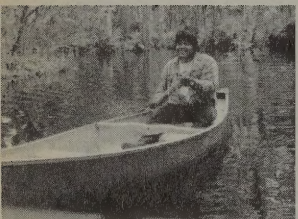
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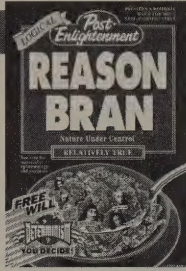
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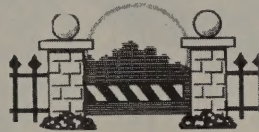
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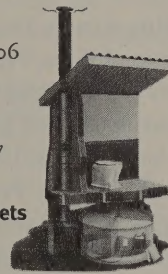
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RETHINKING THE COMMONS

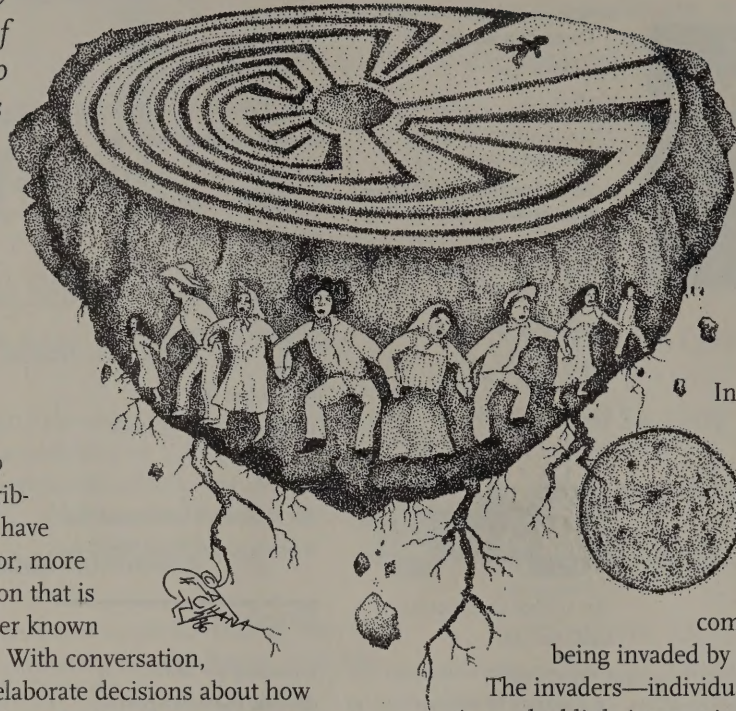
What is common to the greatest number gets the least amount of care. Men pay most attention to what is their own: they care less for what is common.

ARISTOTLE, "POLITICS,"
BOOK II, CHAP. 3.

AS A SPECIES, we have two special attributes. We have speech or, more accurately, conversation that is unequaled by any other known species on the planet. With conversation, we make willful and elaborate decisions about how to jointly utilize and share the biosphere. These two traits of our collective enterprise—conversation and shared landscape—enkindle as if alchemically the commons.

While working outside Tucson with the Tohono O'odham, a group of Pima/Papago speakers, I learned just how complex and cantankerous collective decision-making, shared landscape, and private property could become. Austin Nuñez, Julie Ramon Pierson, Joanne and Danny Preston, Mike and Juanita Enis, Lena Ramon, and Mike Rios, to name a few, formed the Defenders of O'odham Land Rights to protect over 10,000 acres of the district from an invisible, unknown Canadian developer. On paper, the "reservation" land had been subdivided decades ago when White administrators decided the O'odham should be like everyone else and live in suburbia. But, the O'odham people never had the water nor the inclination to settle in suburbia. The desert remained an open creosote and mesquite flat between two black volcanic sacred hills, adjacent to a river sucked dry by Tucson.

The developer was quietly paying two O'odham to find descendants of the original signees and pay them a pittance to sign off their "private property" rights so he could build a new city. But, after so many generations, no one was sure who had the right to sign off; no one was sure they even wanted the desert planted. The land appeared neither private nor public (owned by the tribal government).



In fact, it was a relic commons. Like sitting on a cactus, I woke up. Traditional, placed-based commoners were

being invaded by global commerce.

The invaders—individuals or corporations—had little interest in shared landscape.

They seemed intent on minimizing conversation about the consequences of their commercial venture. They believed in networked places: financial management in Ontario, field offices in Sydney, Savanna and Rome, planning in Paris. If a subdivision or fishery failed in one place, they just moved to another. Locals, mostly taken unawares, had few tools to block invasion or maintain guardianship of their shared commons, be it music, genes, mesquite, or fish.

Mike Enis gave me a T-shirt (above) and a matching sky-blue baseball cap. On it, I'toi, the O'odham culture hero, enters a maze that covers the Earth and its peoples. Within the Earth, the O'odham people hold each other's hands in trust, confident in each other, and with the inner truth of gentleness, but they no longer enjoy a sense of security. I knew it was time to rethink the commons.

VIEWS OF THE COMMONS

The Indo-European origin of "common" is simple. The "com-" comes from the root for "together" or "beside." The "-mon" comes from "to change," "to move," or "to go." Moving together contains the double meaning that has always haunted the commons: the mutual comings-and-goings and the joint movement of the residents as a single community.

The "commons," when even known as a word in America, adheres to places like the Boston Common and harks back to a time in England when villagers

shared a pasture for grazing their cows. The Boston Common is now an urban park and holds few remnants of that past. Pasture is now “public space” or “city property.” The old commons was thick: a fair-ground, a marketplace, a courtship spot, the turf where working rules for the village and etiquette evolved. Today’s urban commons is still a place filled with unexpected, delightful voices—a ghetto blaster playing a song you never heard, a street person screaming about beer cans and God, a banker arranging a tryst—but the commons talk is rarely about the guardianship or productive capacities of the landscape itself.

Traders, merchants, economists, ecologists, environmentalists, and politicians tend to see the landscape as a common pool of material resources. Coastal fish, pasture grass, wildland fiddlenecks and mushrooms, petroleum, or streamflows for irrigation make up the common pools. Traditional peoples, internet users, anthropologists, and some literary folk are less likely to harshly separate the material resources from the symbolic. These common pools of the imagination include our mental capacity for relationships, lore, the glamour of metaphors, and the magic of words.

In many societies (and in today’s animated cartoons, advertisements, and children’s stories), the landscape easily talks with humans. The river says; “I’m sick.” A rock holds the memory of a battle lost. Frogs and lizards sing Budweiser ditties.

FOUR COMMONS

End-of-the century commons reside in four “places” or landscapes: place-based, places-based,

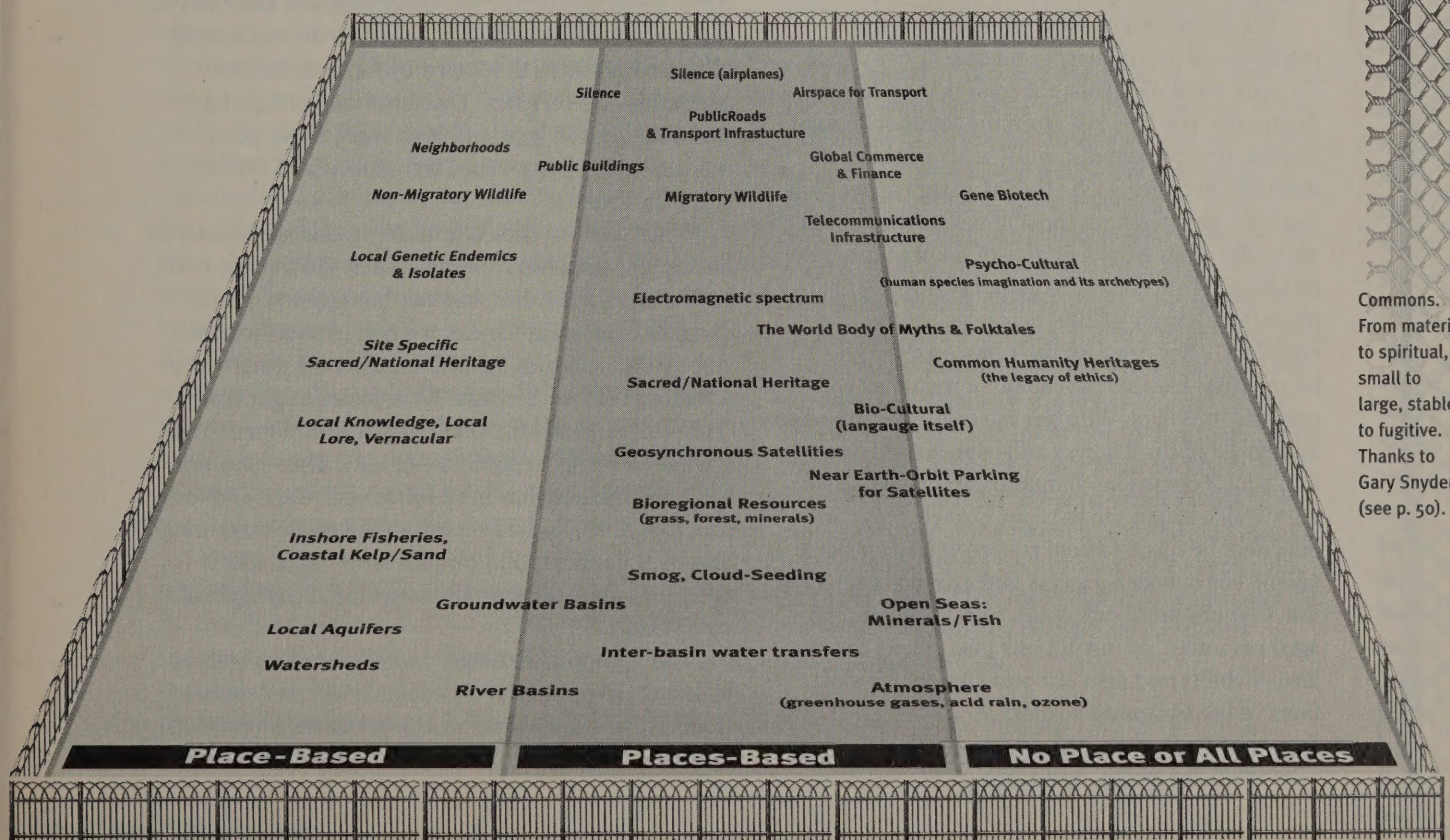
global, and psycho-cultural. **Place-based commons** usually refer to traditional homelands, which Gary Snyder sees as bounded by watersheds and bioregions. Within place-based commons, the daily intimacy of commoners and commonage—nurtured by walking, vernacular, sacred spots, rites, customs, dialect, etiquette, and peculiar taboos that do not always make sense (especially to outsiders)—enriches a caring, if not baroque, dialog between inhabitants, including named individual wildlife, and ecosystem.

Place-based commoners tend to be loyal, intensely generous to each other, with a fatalistic humor about ups and downs. Pride and honor thrive, but they accompany a tendency to take personal affront and a long memory that inspires revenge.

Today, place-based commons also include the shared space of urban neighborhoods. They are less well-defined geographically. Their communal actions are sometimes fugitive; commons arise when there is a need and disappear afterwards (e.g., at Love Canal or when flightpaths bring noisy overflights by commercial airplanes or, in Europe, on sidewalks where parked cars usurped pedestrian routes). Urban place-based commons tend to be political and intimately entangled with private/public and legal conflict over such wastes as smoke in restaurants.

PLACES-BASED COMMONS

Places-based commons are primarily the realm of traders, merchants, bankers and appropriators.



Commons. From material to spiritual, small to large, stable to fugitive. Thanks to Gary Snyder (see p. 50).



Crisis in the commons. Millions of mice invade the grain fields of Kern County, CA (1927). Volunteers clobber mice. — CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SF.

Places-based commoners have less interest in landscape. They prefer the conversation about trade and mutual interests. Each place has its resources which present opportunities for extraction. In many ways, the stories of places-based commons speak to society's fluidity. The common good is often mythologized in heroes

who have gained from common goods. These media heroes have transformed the sacred from multi-generational guardianship of place to the ritual of free trade. But, even global trade remains heavily embedded in old networks of ethnic, religious, and national identities that encourage trust (e.g., Jewish, Asian Indian, Chinese, British, Sicilian or Russian mafias, or the conscientious Swedes).

Most traders—optimistic, entrepreneurial, efficient, focused—feel “liberated” from the taboos of place, guardianship, and ecosystem processes. They are single-purposed and programmatic without any detailed knowledge of the complexity of causality experienced by place-confined natives “lost in the morass” of kinship and landscape obligations and obscure manners. Trade is the essence of the modern polycentric commons where the value of specific places has been depleted and the value of mutual interest narrowed.

The conversation between place-based and places-based commoners is intense, if not vitriolic. To many local residents, the traders may be rich financially, but they are, from the traditional point of view, impoverished in most other qualities of daily life. Both see each other as marginalized: one from the long-term responsibilities to people and place; the other from a quality of life that can only be attained from financial gain. Local residents must increasingly define themselves in the face of outsiders. They draw up their own maps with sharp boundaries, fearful that without a map they will be mapped by others. Who has the collective authority and power to limit access and extraction? How deep into a local commons should traders penetrate? How much ought the outsider extract? How can outsiders be made to help restore what they have taken? For outsiders, access and extraction rarely link to monitoring outcomes, restoration of damaged resources, or institutions that protect long-term viability and dish out punishment for violations of the commons's rules.

THE GLOBAL OR GAIAN COMMONS

The third sense of commons is geographically well defined, but its scale is huge. The global commons is roughly equivalent to the biosphere, although we've pushed property rights into the extra-Gaian realm. Not only filled with the already well-known resources, our biosphere has tempting frontier resources like minerals at the sea bottom, fugitive fish schools outside national fishing limits, the ionosphere wall which bounces radio and microwaves for wireless cell phones and video, and parking spots 22,000 miles above the Earth's surface for geostationary satellites. Biospheric and spacescape working rules are primitive, with little monitoring of outcomes and almost no enforcement of regulations. There are no global taboos that all humans “instinctively” follow, and etiquette and mores are up for grabs.

Wastes emitted into the biosphere degrade or deplete the qualities of the global commons. Polluted air and a more fickle climate have sparked a new transnational conversation that, in many ways, parallels traditional discussion. The global public must learn the personalities of these modern biospheric dragons (CFCs in the ozoneosphere, greenhouse gases in the troposphere) to shame, scold, and sanction the conjurers who diminish planetary/human health.

THE PSYCHO-CULTURAL COMMONS

A fourth sense of commons—the common heritage of humankind—has been debated in the great written traditions of the Asian and European ethicists. The resources include the diversity of languages, archetypes, insights shared from inner journeys common to the human brain and heart, as well as the richness of ideas and practices developed by formerly isolated commons and societies. The common heritage has common desires: less suffering, more inner peace, moments of collective fun, secure food and shelter, and long lives.

Today that psycho-cultural commons sports a lot of hot air and some very serious issues. On the one hand, for instance, many humans pay homage to cultural diversity. But when African women in specific tribes suffer clitorectomies, respect for diversity gives way to a “higher” ethical heritage. What locals might label “cultural imperialism,” other global commoners insist are interventions to eliminate cruelty. This “common heritage” morality has been influential. Rape and torture of civilians in war is now an international crime. Slavery, infanticide and cannibalism—once widely accepted—have become taboos within today's global commons.

The “common heritage” morality is often ignored by industrial powers. It is debatable whether so many Iraqi civilians had to die for US objectives in the Gulf War to succeed. Industrial nations continue to screw

up the climate which, in turn, accelerates sea-level rise and puts the lands of Pacific Islanders at risk of permanent inundation. The industrialized nations do not consider this as the conquest of land. Yet, slow conquest it is. When Pacific Islanders conversed with representatives of industrial nations at the Kyoto meetings on climate change, their input was essentially ignored. Might, rather than a common heritage morality, prevails.

THE THORNY SELF

My dream of the commons is, in part, a self-governing collective that does not abuse its own power. You might ask: what exactly is the "self" in self-governing? Again and again, Whole Earth writers pointed to "trust" and "security." These are emotional human resources that dwell inside individuals but also "float" in a community. Though much harder to assess than material resources (which are hard enough), trust and collective confidence change in abundance and quality—shaped by conversations, personal relationships, childhoods, external events, history, the whole works. An abundance of trust nurtures generosity and feelings of fellowship, confidence, self-worth, and an enthusiasm for celebration. Security nurtures a place for happiness and ease; a sense of long-term continuity. Security within the commons can reduce angers and fears, desires for revenge, free-riding, and cheating. When the commons is experienced as fair, it engenders pride and hope. Trust and security insure inner and outer dependability.

Let us not wax abstract, romantic or nostalgic. Rethinking the commons means jumping from one sense of commons to the next, because they all occur simultaneously and many are nested within each other like a series of Chinese boxes. National governments are losing out to private control as their influence within and beyond national boundaries diminishes. Transnational commerce and banking show little self-discipline and there are no institutions to discipline them. Most transnationals spend time polishing their image while doing business as usual. NGOs can help by educating and lobbying and working in the field. But, they are issue-focused and many NGO workers come and go, drastically limiting their ability to organize or form partnerships between the various commons. Invaders, con men, shirkers, bullies, commercial media, and insincere leaders all consume trust the way bad farming wastes the natural capital of soils.

From Ouagadougou to San Francisco: How do the overlapping place-based, places-based and all-place (or no geographical place) human and natural resources commons come together? Who's eligible to sit at the table? How to frame collective discussion and decisions for a multi-scale geography? What fosters trust? Who can converse without direct punishment or blackballing?

DETAILS

A detail can spark conversation and collective action. A runaway Bud can in the street can organize the commons. First of all, everyone is eligible to speak—kids to parents, strangers to strangers, family to family, office mates to bosses, politicians to constituencies. Underlying any disagreement, trust and fellowship remain. No one will be sent to Siberia for expressing an opinion. "The can" eventually becomes part of our selves, a taboo, a metaphor, a canned joke—as crucial as grass or wood to the traditional conversation of the commons. In some circles, the can's origin will be traced to the mine or manufacturer with concerns for the local commoners at the mine in Jamaica, or the water diverted to process the aluminum in the Pacific Northwest, or the energy used to recycle vs. to mine virgin ore. The conversation of the can can also remain gentler, an indirect forum to expose commoners' ideas of personal freedom and imagination. What's permitted? What's encouraged? Who sets the limits? Is there a "public eye" to shame or build self-worth or must the commons rely on a Can Cop to monitor the streets and, hopefully, act as reasonable enforcer?

The commons then is not just about how to live within a neighborhood, watershed, or the world, it is also the conversation itself. Both are precious, and it's hard to know the balance. Polycentric conversations incubate the common good. Little appreciated is how the emergence of a robust, resilient, creative, and intelligent culture begins with these dispersed, complex daily dialogs. If for only the small talk, all kinds of commons need attention.

This issue of Whole Earth beats the drums for the fairly wild conversation of the commons started millennia ago. It jump-starts a vigorous powwow of many voices which may ultimately feed collective *joie de vivre* and soul. We know, as Gary Snyder counsels: It is hard work with many meetings. We point to trust and security as essential ingredients with which to seek harmony; to a new supply of ideas and practices to map and to architect the global commons; to the NGOs who currently hold the flames of creativity and speak loudest for the dispossessed and lost-in-the-storm commoners and commonage. Ultimately, this issue of Whole Earth provides some PR for the perseverance and multidimensionality of the traditional commons itself, a truly mind-boggling human collective experiment. The past has told too many stories of commons tragedies. We aim at a flourishing commons. Enough tragedies. ⊕

Peter Wenzell

The Commons of Small Geographic Places

Collectively

written by

the staff of

The Ecologist.

Photograph by

Tal Streeter

ADAPTED FROM
CHAPTER 1
OF *WHOSE
COMMON
FUTURE?
RECLAIMING THE
COMMONS,*
BY THE
ECOLOGIST.

TO WESTERN EYES, the streets and lanes of Bangkok, like those of many cities in the South, may seem a strange mixture of order and chaos. In the shadow of shining high-rise hotels, apartment and office blocks, slum dwellers squat in dark, seemingly random collections of shacks near railway lines, on construction sites, and over swamps. In front of rows of concrete shop houses and air-conditioned banks, carts and stalls selling noodles, dried squid, curries, and iced drinks jostle for kerb-space with amulet-sellers, fruit-vendors, and beggars. Souvenir merchants block pedestrian traffic by jamming their tables up against those of purveyors of cheap baby clothes, leather-goods, sweets, and dubious track shoes. Streetcorner vendors show open contempt for the solemnities of intellectual property by loudly inviting passers-by to invest in fake Rolex watches, pirated rock music cassettes, and bogus Lacoste shirts. Under the eyes of bored policemen, pedestrians jaywalk across roads congested with roaring, grinding, smoke-belching trucks, buses, and motorcycles.

Who are all these people raising pigs and drying clothes next to the railroad tracks? Why don't

the police do something about the jaywalkers, the hawkers, and the polluting vehicles? What is the law here? Is there a law here? Why doesn't anybody seem to know what it is? A Westerner setting up a food stall on the kerb of a busy street might have an uneasy sense of encroaching on public space, enforced by a worry about bureaucrats and police. Not the Bangkok vendors! Like the slum dwellers, they seem ready to take all the space they can get. Of course, now and then the police clear them off. But this hardly seems to be out of a real concern for public order. More likely the World Bank or a foreign dignitary is arriving for a meeting and some high official, fearful of losing face, has sent out an order to spruce up the streets. In any case, as soon as the police are gone the vendors trickle back. In a week things are back to normal.

OF A DIFFERENT MORAL ORDER

Longer acquaintance with Bangkok may shift the Westerner's view. Beneath the seeming vacuum of public order and responsibility, the outlines of a different kind of moral and environmental order begin to appear. It becomes clear that while public space may not always be respected, infor-

mal boundaries are well-marked within communities of people who know each other. In the slum or along the row of street vendors, anyone who takes up too much space, or uses the wrong space, or leaves too much of a mess, is brought back into line by neighbours. The community may not possess much space, and may have little opportunity to make it clean and attractive, but it makes the most of what it has. And because no one group is powerful enough to usurp too much space for itself, everybody has a share.

External borders are defended as well. When the police undertake a sweep of sidewalk vendors, furious mutterings spread down the lines of stalls. "This is our turf! We've been here for years! What right do the authorities have to evict us?" Elsewhere, outrage may lead to more organized resistance. In an area of orchards nestled in a bend of the Chao Phraya River near the city centre, landowners and squatters join together to protest the proposed conversion of their land into a public park, pointing out that they and their ancestors have kept the place green for over a century. In a slum, when lines of policemen step forward to begin dismantling squatters' homes, children rush forward to grasp their legs. Shaking them off, the police advance a few steps further only to come up against a phalanx of angry, taunting women, baring their breasts to shame them into retreat. Behind them, in reserve, wait the men of the community. People may regard the city's law as fact rather than social norm and value customs more than contracts, but their sense of rights and justice is sharp.

The order people seek is seldom a public one. Few set much store by anonymous and formal words typed or printed on headed paper, or on proclamations that this or that area is public property. Few are overly concerned about obligations toward unseen strangers. Rather, people try to establish personal, face-to-face connections. Who is the most powerful person here? Who the most senior? Do I know any of their relatives? Where can I carve out a space for my family? How much can I enlarge it by cultivating the right people and making the right alliances? How much can my family and friends get away with before we offend our neighbours? As new acquaintances jockey for position on the pavements, in the alleys, in the communities and restaurants and meeting rooms, invisible grid-lines are drawn, connections made, and unspoken rules laid down. As relationships become established and power is balanced, interdependence grows and benevolence is exchanged for respect. Insiders are distinguished from outsiders, and consideration and love flourish among familiars. Indulgences quickly become rights

which cannot be violated without denying the growing personal ties themselves. It is in these rights and ties, more than in the formal machinery of the law or an inculcated sense of the public, that ordinary people, and even police and businesses, place their faith.

MEGAGLOBO VS. THE VILLAGE

This order does not emerge from nowhere. It recreates, in broken form, a long tradition visible more clearly in the countryside: a tradition of the commons. There, until recently, the category of the public barely existed. In day-to-day practice, it was above all the community which exercised dominion over time, space, agriculture, and language. Woods and streams feeding local irrigation systems remained intact because anyone degrading them had to brave the wrath of neighbours deprived of their livelihood, and no one was powerful enough to do so. Everybody was subject to everybody else's personal scrutiny and sanctions.

Bangkok twists this tradition. Benefiting from the growth of the state and economic development, elites have gained the power to usurp larger and larger domains of common space—streets, clean air, green space—without having to concern themselves with the reaction of others. Webs of personal relationships have been stretched or frayed, losing their anchorage to a particular locality, reducing people's ability to defend their space and make it liveable. People whose livelihoods have been taken away by this process fall into increasingly abject dependency on those who have taken it away. At the same time, new webs of personal relationships ramify across the upper levels of society. Dynastic, commercial, and military alliances concentrate and reconcentrate power largely beyond the ability of ordinary people to place checks upon it.

In this sense, disorder in Bangkok originates less in the huddled shacks of the slums or the haphazard rows of street vendors than in the forces—partly foreign—that lie behind the modern public and private high-rise buildings, fast-food outlets, and brightly coloured billboards which look so reassuring and orderly to the Western visitor. Indeed, it is in commons such as those in slums and on street vendors' turf that the order which can safeguard the interests of ordinary Bangkokians and their environment is largely found. When subsistence is at stake, they often improvise or

It is in commons such as those in slums and on street vendors' turf that the order which can safeguard the interests of ordinary Bangkokians and their environment is largely found.



Unlike most things in modern industrial society...the commons is neither private nor public: neither commercial farm nor communist collective, neither business firm nor state utility, neither jealously guarded private plot nor national or city park.

reconstruct rough-and-ready new commons regimes rather than pin their hopes on either the market economy or public institutions. For better or worse, the commons is the social and political space where things get done and where people

derive a sense of belonging and have an element of control over their lives. In Bangkok, as in many places throughout the South, when the commons is gone, there is little that can take its place.

The tale of Bangkok and its broken commons may seem remote from Western

experience. For many people in the West, the word *commons* carries the archaic flavour of the medieval village pasture which villagers did not own but where they had rights to graze their livestock. Yet, for the vast majority of humanity, the commons is an everyday reality. Ninety percent of the world's fishers rely on small inshore marine commons where they catch over half the fish eaten in the world today. In the Philippines, Java, and Laos, irrigation systems are devised and run by villagers themselves, the water rights being distributed through rules laid down by the community. Even in the North, there are communities which still manage their forests and fisheries jointly (lobster harvesters in Maine, for example, or forest communities in many areas of Finland), bestowing on themselves the power to divide up what they regard as their patches of sea or soil among their own communities and kin. Moreover, new commons are constantly being born, even among what might seem the most fragmented communities. In the inner cities of the US, black communities' dialects express concepts that the language taught in state schools cannot touch. At toxic dump sites and around proposed nuclear plants in France, Switzerland, and elsewhere, people have insisted on their rights to keep the earth and air around their communities free from the threat of poisonous and radioactive substances, damning the economic and public rationality which dictates that their homes are objectively the best locations for waste sinks. For them, the sentiments expressed by an elder of a Brazilian tribe, despite the religious language in which they are couched, cannot be completely unrecognizable:

"The only possible place for the Krenak people to live and to reestablish our existence, to speak to our Gods, to speak to our nature, to weave our

lives, is where God created us. We can no longer see the planet that we live upon as if it were a chess-board where people just move things around."

THE ELUSIVE COMMONS

Despite its ubiquity, the commons is hard to define. It provides sustenance, security, and independence, yet (in what many Westerners feel to be a paradox) typically does not produce commodities. Unlike most things in modern industrial society, moreover, it is neither private nor public: neither commercial farm nor communist collective, neither business firm nor state utility, neither jealously guarded private plot nor national or city park. Nor is it usually open to all. The local community typically decides who uses it and how.

The unlimited diversity of commons also makes the concept elusive. While all commons regimes involve joint use, what they define access to is bewilderingly varied: for example, trees, forests, land, minerals, water, fish, animals, language, time, radio wavelengths, silence, seeds, milk, contraception, and streets. Trying to find some order in this field, some theorists claim that the commons are "resources for which exclusion is difficult" and boundary-setting not worthwhile, or which "are needed by all but whose productivity is diffuse rather than concentrated, low or unpredictable in yield, and low in unit value": for example, seasonally inundated swamplands in Borneo, moorland in England, semi-arid rangeland in Botswana or Ethiopia, and scrubby *maquis* or *garrigues* in France and Spain. Yet smaller, more easily divisible, and more highly productive and defensible arable lands are often also treated as communal property. In traditional Malaysia and Laos as well as Ethiopia and much of the rest of contemporary Africa, plots have been traditionally allocated to individuals by the community, which nevertheless reserves the authority to redistribute them if they are not used for subsistence. In such cases of usufruct, common rights can be defined as the right not to the land or the soil, which rests with the community, but the right to what the soil brings forth over a particular period.

Other theorists suggest that the commons are jointly-used resources whose use by one person may subtract from the welfare of the next, and which are thus potentially subject to crowding, depletion and degradation. Yet while this may be true of a great range of cases, genetic diversity or knowledge of contraception (to cite just two examples of resources often maintained by commons regimes) cannot be subtracted in this way.

WHAT IS "LOCAL" IN LOCAL POWER?

More fruitful than such attempts to define

commons regimes through their domains are attempts to define them through their social and cultural organization: for example, local or group power, distinctions between members and non-members, rough parity among members, a concern with common safety rather than accumulation, and an absence of the constraints which lead to economic scarcity. Even here, however, it would be a mistake to demand too much precision. For example, what does the *local* in *local power* mean? In Shanxi province in China, communal forests were owned by single villages, several villages together, or clans. In India the relevant bodies may be caste groups, while for Switzerland's city forests, it is citizenship, or election to a given community that counts.

Similarly, what does the *power* in *local power* consist in? Sometimes it is the power to exclude outsiders or to punish them if they abuse the commons. Often this power lays the foundation for an additional structure of internal rules, rights, duties and beliefs which mediates and shapes the community's own relationship with its natural surroundings. In Maine, for example, it is only in strongly defended territories that lobster harvesters have successfully enacted informal and formal regulations on the numbers of traps used. Elsewhere in North America there have been clear "post-fur-trade linkages between the existence of viable hunting territories and intentional conservation measures." Sometimes the meshes of power internal to commons regimes give rise to notions of property or possession, but in many cases the relevant group does not regard itself as owning, but rather as owned by, or as stewards of, water or land.

A further characteristic often ascribed to the commons is that, unlike resources in the modern economy, it is "not perceived as scarce." This is not only because many things available as commons, such as silence, air, or genetic diversity, will renew themselves continually until deliberately made scarce by the encroachment of outside political actors. More importantly, the needs which many commons satisfy are not infinitely expanding. They are not determined by a growth-oriented external system producing goods and services, but rather are constantly adjusted and limited by the specific commons regime itself, which remains in everyone's view. Without the race between growth and the scarcity which growth creates, there can thus be a sense of having enough. Even where produce from the commons is sold, the "needs" defined by consumerism and external market demand for goods and services will be subject to internal revision.

COMMONS IN CONTACT

Despite their resolutely local orientation and resistance to being swallowed up by larger systems, commons regimes have never been isolated in either space or time. Nor have their social organizations ever been static. Commons regimes welcome, feed upon, and are fertilized by contact, and evolve just like any other social institution. Communities maintaining commons often work out arrangements over larger geographical areas with other groups. For example, inter-village commons boundaries are acknowledged by villagers in the Munglori area of Tehri Garhwal, India: each village has a recognized turf and encroachment by other villages for fodder-collection is likely to provoke objections. In the Philippines, competing claims to water rights among different *zanjaras*, or communal irrigation societies, have customarily been decided by inter-village councils composed of *zanjara* officers and family elders in the community.

Systems of common rights, in fact, far from evolving in isolation, often owe their very existence to interaction and struggle between communities and the outside world. It is arguably only in reaction to invasion, dispossession, or other threats to accustomed security of access that the concept of common rights emerges. Today, such rights are evolving where access to seeds, air, and other resources which were previously taken for granted are being challenged through commoditization, legal enclosure, or pollution. Existing commons regimes, too, vary continuously with changes in their natural or social environment. Property-rights systems can shift back and forth in long, short, or even seasonal cycles from communal to private and back again, depending on struggles among prospective beneficiaries, ecological change, and shifts in social relationships. For example, common-field systems are instituted in some new or revived villages in Ethiopia to attract labour and people; where this succeeds the tenure system may be switched to one based on inheritance. Later on, villages may revive communal tenure.

BEYOND THE GLOBAL GRID

Each commons regime may be as different culturally from the next as all are from, say, a factory. But it is not only their cultural diversity that makes

**The concept of the commons flies
in the face of the modern wisdom
that each spot on the globe consists
merely of coordinates on a global grid
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Commons implies the right of local
people to define their own grid.**



such regimes difficult to capture in technical or universal terms. Ivan Illich makes this point when he says that the “law establishing the commons was unwritten, not only because people did not care to write it down, but because what it protected was a reality much too complex to fit into paragraphs.” This is somewhat inexact; commons rules are sometimes written down; and where they are not, this is not so much because what they protect is complex as because the commons requires an open-endedness, receptiveness, and adaptability to the vagaries of local climate, personalities, consciousness, crafts, and materials which written records cannot fully express. But Illich’s point is important. What makes the commons work, like the skills of wheelwrights, surgeons, or machinists, cannot easily be encoded in written or other fixed or replicable forms useful to cultural outsiders. These forms can make some of the workings of commons regimes visible to moderns but have generally functioned to transfer local power outside the community.

In this and other respects, the concept of the commons flies in the face of the modern wisdom that each spot on the globe consists merely of coordinates on a global grid laid out by state and market: a uniform field which determines everyone’s and everything’s rights and roles. *Commons* implies the right of local people to define their own grid, their own forms of community respect for watercourses, meadows or paths; to resolve conflicts their own way; to translate what enters their ken into the personal terms of their own dialect; to be biased against the rights of outsiders to local resources in ways usually unrecognized in modern laws; to treat their home not simply as a location housing transferrable goods and chunks of population but as irreplaceable and even to be defended at all costs.

The remarkable success of local commons in safeguarding their environments is well documented. A detailed study of Japanese common land (*iriaiichi*) by M. A. McKean, for example, was unable to find a single example of a “commons that suffered ecological destruction while it was still a commons.” In Pakistan, even the official National Report to UNCED ranks traditional management of *shamilaat*, or communal forests, as more effective in environmental protection than management of state-owned forests.

But that success depends on more than local knowledge of the environment, respect for nature or indigenous technologies. The extent to which sanctions against environmental degradation are enforced depends greatly on the extent to which members of a community rely on their natural surroundings for their long-term livelihood and thus have a direct interest in protecting it. Once that direct interest is removed—once members of the community look outside the commons for their sustenance and social standing—the cultural checks and balances that limit potential abuses of the environment are rendered increasingly ineffective. The authority of commons regimes declines.

In that respect, the key to the success of commons regimes lies in the limits that its culture of shared responsibilities place upon the

power of any one group or individual. The equality which generally prevails in the commons, for example, does not grow out of any ideal or romantic preconceived notion of *communitas* any more than out of allegiance to the modern notion that people have equal rights. Rather, it emerges as a by-product of the inability of a small community’s elite to eliminate entirely the bargaining power of any one of its members, the limited amount of goods any one group can make away with under the others’ gaze, and the calculated jockeying for position of many individuals who know each other and share an interest both in minimizing their own risks and in not letting any one of their number become too powerful. ⊕

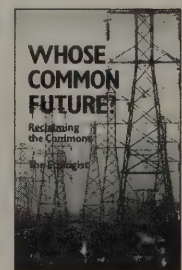


Whose Common Future? Reclaiming the Commons

The Ecologist. 1993; 216pp. \$14.95.
New Society Publishers.

Well-intentioned “development” projects, applied in crude industrial world timeframes and with tools cruelly insensitive to local customs and life, have subverted the commons.

Whose Common Future? is the most readable and explicitly moral analysis of local power and the invasion by megaglobo capital. A rallying cry for localism. —PW



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Systems of Survival A Dialogue on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics

Jane Jacobs. 1994; 236 pp. \$13. Vintage.

If there is a tragedy of the commons, it is not commoners over-exploiting their resources. On the contrary, most commoners do a pretty good job. The tragedy is invasions—sometimes by the military (so many villages burned in Africa wars), but mostly by traders and commerce.

The two attitudes—the guardianship ethical complex of the commoners and the commercial ethical complex of the trader—are brilliantly contrasted in Jane Jacobs's book. It is, really, the only book on the subject, presented as a Platonic dialog among gathered friends at various evening salons.

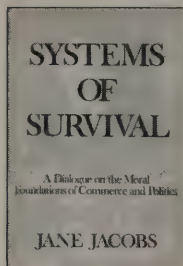
Jane Jacobs (author of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*) asks all the right questions: When is it ethical to deceive? When does business enhance or subvert the common good? When is industriousness a virtue? When a vice? How can guardians preserve guardianship and not contaminate it with commercial enterprise? For any of us involved with green businesses or community economics or free trade and sustainability, this idea-dense book clarifies and enriches the very contemporary and intense struggles over the future of the planet. —PW

“THE COMMERCIAL MORAL SYNDROME

- Shun Force
- Come to Voluntary Agreements
- Be honest
- Compete
- Respect contracts
- Use initiative and enterprise
- Be open to inventiveness and novelty
- Be efficient
- Promote comfort and convenience
- Dissent for the sake of the task
- Invest for productive purposes
- Be industrious
- Be thrifty
- Be optimistic

THE GUARDIAN MORAL SYNDROME

- Shun trading
- Exert prowess
- Be obedient and disciplined
- Adhere to tradition
- Respect hierarchy
- Be loyal
- Take vengeance



Deceive for the sake of the task
Make rich use of leisure
Be ostentatious
Dispense largesse
Be exclusive
Show fortitude
Be fatalistic
Treasure honor

“Hannah Arendt was deeply interested in the terrible matter-of-factness of institutionalized wickedness and rote cooperation with it. In her famous phrase, she called it ‘the banality of evil.’ But her observation also

applies to humdrum breaches of integrity....In her last work before her death she argued that each by each, everyone should habitually be aware of the moral implications of what he or she is asked to do and, each by each, should stand up for the right to be moral. She thought that was a basic human right.”

“I don’t place much faith in schemes that presuppose, for their success, widespread reform of human beings,” said Armbruster. “Especially when the momentum is at odds with that aim....”

“Here’s a thought from Richard Nielsen, a professor in the Carroll School of Management at Boston College,” said Hortense. “He argues that a major cause of corruption in business organizations is ‘managerial isolation.’ He advocates that managers at all levels in an organization should habitually think about the enterprise’s legitimate values and the morality of what’s it’s doing or planning to do. That’s Arendt’s advice, as he acknowledges. But then, in addition, he thinks managers should habitually discuss these matters with each other. The purpose would be to forestall ethical mistakes when they threaten, or nip them quickly, supposing they do occur.”

“Wouldn’t they be scared to do that, Hortense?” asked Ben. “Lose their jobs maybe?”

“Feeling alone is what scares managers, Nielsen says. If they find they have allies—or can persuade allies into existence—moral courage becomes more practicable. In effect, he proposes invoking wholesome cooperation to combat rancid cooperation.”

“He’s fantasizing,” said Jaspar.

Tribes

How Race, Religion and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy

Joel Kotkin. 1993; 343 pp. \$13. Random House.

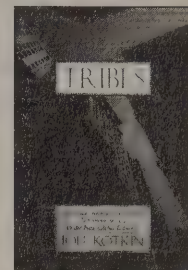
Joel Kotkin is the celebrator of the “commons of mutual interest” divorced from the “commons of place and local resources.” What he thrills in is the diaspora—the ability of an ethnic group to hold common interests while scattered hither and yon over the planet. Jews, Brits, and Japanese have created commons of mutual interests as a survival and enhancement tool. The Chinese and Indians are in the process of doing so. Not a book to be loved by those who treasure the intimacy of placed-based commons—the watersheds or bioregions—but a book that solidly demonstrates how global economics and ethnic networks have and will embed cashflows within pre-existing trust cultures.

Kotkin values money over indigenous integrity. But, *Tribes* talks about tools for survival for groups like the Tibetans and Palestinians, and the well-seeded international clout of Mormonism. There exists no other focused discussion. —PW (Suggested by Stewart Brand)

“Global tribes combine a strong sense of a common origin and shared values, quintessential tribal characteristics, with two critical factors for success in the modern world: geographic dispersion and a belief in scientific progress. Such cosmopolitan groups—from the Jews and British of the past to today’s ascendant Asian global tribes—do not surrender their sense of a peculiar ethnic identity at the altar of technology or science but utilize their historically conditioned values and beliefs to cope successfully with change. The collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War further boost the prospects for global tribes.

“In Spain, first under the Moors and later under the Christian kings, Jews rose to intellectual heights perhaps unequalled in modern times. But with the expulsion of 1492....Spain emptied itself of much of its scientifically curious population. The Ottoman sultan, who received much of this gifted population, with its cadre of cartographers, swordsmiths and metallurgists, was astounded by his good fortune.

“Indians abroad have established cultural and religious institutions so they can keep their *man* (heart) in India even as they place their *dhan* (wealth) in Britain and their *tan* (body) in a third country such as one in Asia or Africa.



Sometimes when we speak of the commons we are referring to a resource like fisheries, air or water, that all members of a community can use and that may cease to be self-renewing if overused or polluted. But sometimes the commons is less tangible and the interests we share in it are harder to define. The commons includes the range of behaviors individuals can expect from most others, most of the time. These expectations allow individuals to chart their paths through a day in our intricately interconnected society, a weave of habit and helpfulness that we come to rely on.

A sense of security, such as the ability to walk the streets of a city without fear, is a resource shared by the city's people, and is essential to their lives and livelihoods. That sense of security can survive occasional incidents and violations, but when too many crimes occur it becomes depleted. The benefit is lost to all the citizens, and even to the criminal who shattered the peace in exploiting their confidence once too often. In the same way, generosity, such as the willingness to stop and give directions or help someone in trouble, and confidence, such as the readiness to believe that public officials are basically honest and that doctors and policemen will help when needed, are part of the fabric of life. Honesty is a commons resource. The assumption that newspapers and scales are mostly accurate, or that flowers planted near the sidewalk will not be gratuitously vandalized, these too are part of the commons that

make civilized life possible. When times are bad, a shared belief in light at the end of the tunnel keeps people struggling to survive, and the sense of common purpose allows individuals to face their own deaths with the sense that what they died for will continue.

These social resources of the commons have become badly eroded in our day, partly because we as a society have steadily reduced the values of common decency and common sense. At a cer-

Trust & Security

Can the commons exist without common decency & common sense?

Mary Catherine Bateson



tain point, aberrations of behavior within the commons become so common or so highly publicized that they are no longer seen as exceptional. We have come to believe that any president may be a crook and that any adult may commit child abuse. One of the effects of the Holocaust has been to convince us all that what could happen in civilized Germany could happen anywhere. Indeed, whenever and wherever the unthinkable occurs, thinking is altered forever.

We have partially forgotten that resources in a social commons can be depleted by individuals. If an individual violates (consumes) too much trust, then the whole commons is depleted. A smooth operator reduces both the abundance and quality of common human resources.

These are two ways to destroy a commons: consume the trust and security resources, or deny that trust and security even exist or ever have existed.

The costs of depleting the sense of trust and security range from empty flower beds to citizens afraid to walk out their own front doors, from failures to seek medical help in a timely way to pervasive cynicism about the political process. We become ready to greet virtually all information with a mixture of disbelief and unreasoning credulity, for lack of a common sense of what is likely to be true.

All efforts to protect the material commons rely on the human-constructed resources of the social commons: the readiness to believe that the covenants protecting their use are based on reasonable estimates and that most users will respect them. Even as we consider the measures necessary for the protection of material commons, we need to be on the alert for the diversity of social commons so that these too can be imitated, created, and protected. ⊕

As a precision anthropologist (doctor of linguistics and Middle Eastern studies), Mary Catherine Bateson is my favorite compañera. *Composing A Life*, one of her five major books, spread rapidly among women's groups as she encouraged women to try out "joint improvisations" in thinking about their lives. She has honored Whole Earth by making us an integral part of the Margaret Mead Centennial (more in the winter issue). — PW

"KIDDIE PEN"
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Trust The Social Virtues & the Creation of Prosperity

Francis Fukuyama. 1995; 457 pp. \$15. The Free Press.

It is odd. Only the business community is actively brainstorming about trust, reliability, integrity, and their outcomes. I could find no voices or books exploring the nature of organizational trust within the sustainability, radical right, or liberal-leaning communities. They mention trust as if it is self-evident and then move on.

Fukuyama has penned the best of the corporate trust tomes. He never mentions the commons, but he is deeply involved with collective solidarity. He never mentions natural resources, but brilliantly dissects how trust influences the economic well-being of nation-states, migrants, American slaves, the Mafia, and transnationals. He never explores the psychology of trust, but sees trust as an essential expectation within a community—an expectation that individuals will act in regular, honest, and cooperative ways.

Fukuyama believes that high-trust economies do better than low-trust economies. They suffer fewer “transaction” costs like lawyers and overly detailed contracting. They enjoy greater tolerance of experimentation. In high-trust economies, shared confidence replaces the extremes of nepotism (too much family trust) and state tyranny (no trust).

The quicker and more intimately we confront trust and its dark twin—fear of being played for a sucker—the more rapidly a positive accommodation of the local and the global will emerge. Trust me, you’ll need to start here. —PW

“Trust does not reside in integrated circuits or fiber optic cables. Although it involves exchanges in information, trust is not reducible to information....A high-trust society like Japan created networks well before the information revolution got into high gear....

“If people who have to work together in an enterprise trust one another because they are operating according to a common set of ethical norms, doing business costs less. Such a society will be better able to innovate organizationally, since the high degree of trust will permit a wide variety of social relationships to emerge. Hence highly sociable Americans pioneered the development of the modern corporation.

“Americans were asked whether they felt “most people” could be trusted.



The number answering affirmatively fell from fifty-eight percent in 1960 to only thirty-seven percent in 1993.

“Besides the direct costs of lawyers, the decline in trust imposes substantial indirect costs on the society as well. In recent years, for instance, many American businesses have stopped writing recommendations for employees wanting to move to different jobs....

because employers had been successfully sued by employees unhappy with the quality of the recommendations....

“In the absence of a wide radius of trust and an inclination for spontaneous association, a society has two options for building large-scale economic organizations....use of the state as a promoter of economic development...[or] foreign direct investment or joint ventures with large foreign partners.

Fortress America Gated Communities in the United States

Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder. 1997; 209 pp. \$24.95 (\$28.95 postpaid). Brookings Institution Press, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, DC, 20042-0029, 800/275-1447, fax 202/797-6004.

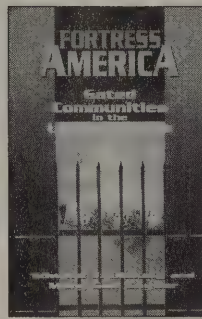
Here's a dysfunctional form of commons, partly nostalgic for “our town” America and partly paranoid about THEM. The only book on the eight million citizens now residing behind self-imposed gates and barricades. Clear sociology and lots of good questions. —PW

“Gated communities—lifestyle, prestige, and security zone—reflect to varying degrees four social values...a sense of community, or the preservation and strengthening of neighborhood bonds; exclusion, or separation and protection from the outside; privatization, or the desire to privatize and internally control public services; and stability, or homogeneity and predictability....Where sense of community is a primary value motivating the residents of gated communities, it reflects all five aspects of community: shared territory, shared values, a shared public realm, support structure, and a shared destiny. Exclusion helps define shared territory by separating community members from outsiders. Privatization reflects a desire to protect a shared destiny through increased local control. Stability suggests shared values and support structures, and retaining stability is also a way of protecting shared destiny.

“The lifestyle communities attract those who want separate, private services and amenities; they are also seeking a homogeneous, predictable environment. The prestige communities draw those seeking a stable neighborhood of similar people where property values will be protected; concerns about separation and privatization of services come second.


The security zone neighborhoods are trying to strengthen and protect a sense of community, but their primary goal is to exclude the places and people they perceive as threats to their safety or quality of life.

“All neighborhoods, gated and nongated, have the same ultimate goals: to control traffic, eliminate crime, protect economic position, and maintain a stable quality of life. On the level of the individual household, gating is a rational choice. But from the perspective of the city, the region, or the nation, gating does nothing to address the cause of the problems that it is a response to.... Our neighborhoods, our streets, our homes, and our families will never be truly safe while we ignore the greater community of which we are a part.



Entrance to Jacaranda Pointe, Plantation, Florida.





DEFENDING THE GLOBAL COMMONS

Having Fun Supporting the United Nations

I cut my civic action teeth in the mid-1960s in New York City, organizing Citizens For Clean Air. We passed local ordinances to prevent trash burning in millions of incinerators; got TV, radio, and press to release the City's primitive Air Pollution Index in weather reports; and fought the auto industry to speed installation of catalytic converters. All the while, our 40,000 members knew we were only scratching the surface, offering Band-Aids. While we released praying mantises and lady bugs in pesticide-sprayed Central Park to teach about natural methods of insect control, many of us knew the problems were national and international, involving fossil-fueled industrial methods, faulty technologies, and pursuit of the American Dream of keeping up with the Joneses via mass consumption.

I ended up realizing that too few people and resources were focused on—let alone defending—the global commons, the heritage of all humans: oceans, atmosphere, satellite orbits and

electromagnetic frequencies that carry communications and commerce, and the rich genetic library of ecosystems.

Any foray into the international arena must begin with some understanding of nation-states, their politics and their competitive behavior patterns set in motion by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Until the transnational challenge, national sovereignty was nations' holy writ, fostering patriotism and armies to defend their respective territories, echoing the ecosystem-spacing methods of our gatherer/hunter ancestors. Can such deeply rooted nationalism and patriotism, usually based on patriarchal social structures, be transcended? Can human awareness expand and societies restructure democratically to embrace planetary ecological realities in time to avoid disastrous collapses, more species die-backs and extinctions—including possibly our own? Most environmental

activists, working on local, regional, national, or global issues, think such thoughts continually.

Hazel Henderson

Photo by Galen Rowell / Mountain Light

PHOTOGRAPH
FROM *Poles
Apart*,
REVIEWED ON
P. 96.

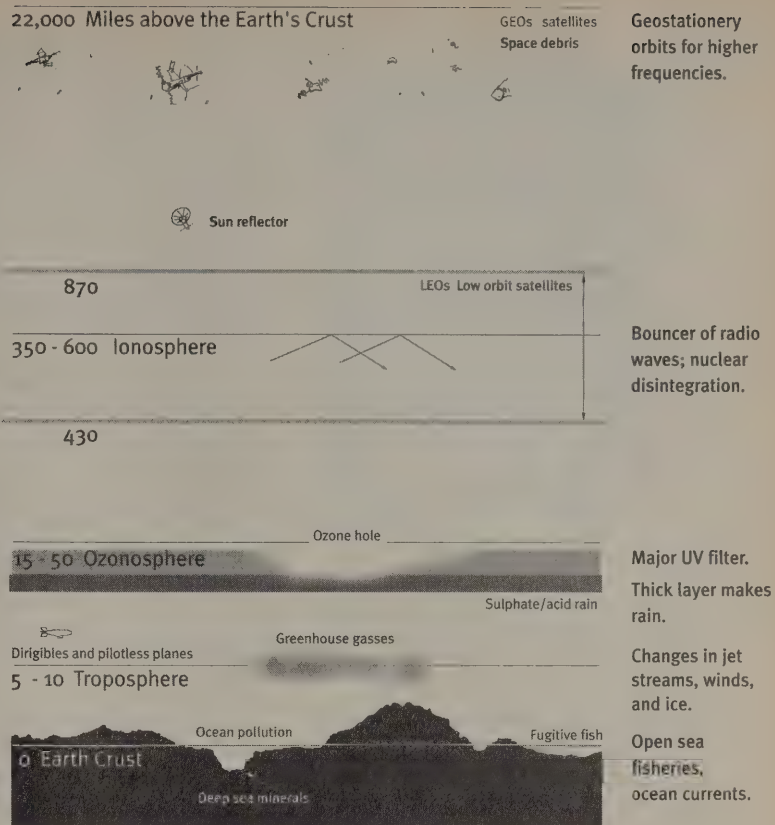
THE UNITED NATIONS

As I jumped into defending the global commons in the early 1990s I rediscovered the United Nations. I attended the first UN Summit on the Environment in Stockholm in 1972, where I participated with Stewart Brand, Stephanie Mills, Margaret Mead, Paul Ehrlich, Jerry Mander, Teddy Goldsmith, Barry Commoner, and others in a series of enlightening dinner conversations. The UN (in spite of much opposition from national governments) subsequently convened a series of summits on the real agenda of "We the Peoples," on such topics as food, shelter, population, health, children, human rights, science and technology, poverty and unemployment, cities, environment, and women and development.

The contemporary struggles over the global commons are just the latest in the fifty-three-year history of the United Nations, one of the major social innovations of the twentieth century. Few in the US understand that networking, convening, brokering, and facilitating standard-setting, treaties, and agreements among the 186 member states constitutes the bulk of UN activities. Agreements on universal human rights, work place and health standards, education, child development, the status of women and indigenous peoples, consumer and environmental protection, the promotion of the arts, sciences, and culture, as well as the UN's more visible peace-keeping roles, have been painstakingly achieved since the UN's Charter was signed in the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco in 1945.

Despite the UN's severe limitations as a deliberative body that can only recommend to nation-states, many of its international agreements work anyway. Sometimes this is due to countervailing forces and creative coalition-building between countries, e.g., the Canadian-lead, NGO-driven "Ottawa process" which led to the treaty to ban landmines in 1997. Sometimes, NGOs have assumed the role as monitors and enforcers of UN Charters (see "Neptune's Manifesto," p. 26—ed.). Maybe a third reason agreements work is that playing fair creates a more predictable market which benefits all the parties. It reduces the cost of bickering (at the World Trade Organization or a world court), and of negotiating and renegotiating many bilateral agreements.

Civic society organizations (CSOs) or NGOs are now one key to defending the global commons and making the UN more effective. (I no longer like the acronym NGO, since the World Trade Organization uses it for multi-national corporations; e.g., it designates General Motors and



The Biosphere is a series of "volumetric" commons, one inside the other like a Chinese box. The diagram lists six global commons: Earth's crust, troposphere, sulphate layer, ozonosphere, ionosphere, and near-Earth

orbital. Each has been invaded and degraded. Decision-making, enforcement, and monitoring remain primitive except for the telecommunications industry "commons" (see p. 22).

Microsoft as NGOs!) The UN, since Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali's 1992 initiative, has been creating ever more space for CSOs and making them partners in many of its programs, culminating in the People's Millennium Assembly to be held in New York in the year 2000.

BETWEEN NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTIES AND TRANSNATIONALS

Dealing with today's accelerating destruction of our global commons requires the UN—as the only international body with the mandate of "We the Peoples" and the broadest membership of all the nations. If the UN were not there, we would truly have to invent it. In large part because of its success, the UN is suffering a backlash. National governments and corporations do not like to be upstaged. Both often resort to the popular pastime of demonizing the UN.

Because the mass media cover UN summits, justice, equity, and sustainability issues become hot topics in many countries, where reluctant politicians are pressured to deal with them. No wonder



the UN is in such a crossfire, as its nation-members alternatively use the world forum as a fig leaf for their policies (as George Bush did in the 1991 Gulf War) or as a scapegoat (as both Bill Clinton and Bob Dole did as presidential candidates in 1996—both erroneously, and shamefully, portrayed US command failures in Somalia and Bosnia as the fault of the UN). Such policy disinformation, along with deceptive advertising and media campaigns, are now a major block to the UN's contribution to a sustainable future.

Of course, it's impossible to deal with the global commons without paying salaries to do it. The current financial crisis at the UN is due largely to one sovereign nation—the US's non-payment of some \$1.3 billion in back dues. With dues payments stalemated in Congress by Senator Jesse Helms and other conservatives, isolationists, and fundamentalists, and, in addition, a notable absence of leadership from Democrats and the White House, the UN is enmeshed in US political

cross-currents. Since 1996, the fifteen countries of the European Union have offered to support a cut in the US share of UN dues from its current twenty-five percent to fifteen-to-twenty percent and from its thirty-one percent share in the peace-keeping budget to twenty-five percent. Helms rejected this offer, yet still makes such a reduction one of his forty onerous and often irrational "conditions" for the US to meet its arrears obligations.

Meanwhile, the US still uses its veto in the UN Security Council as if it were a paid-up member, and attempts to influence the UN in countless ways. This has led to increasing frustration among the Europeans and other US allies, many of whose leaders have commented that there should be "no representation without taxation," as the UN Charter states. The war of words continues with sloganeering about "reforming" the UN and its "bloated bureaucracy." The reality is that the UN's annual budget is only about four percent of that of the City of New York, while its core functions

Hot Air & Equity

At the Kyoto Convention on Climate Change convened by the United Nations in December, 1997 the key issue in reducing greenhouse gases was not technology, monitoring, or enforcement, but equity

between countries of the industrial North and those of the developing Southern Hemisphere.

The question asked in Kyoto: could an orderly transition proceed from unsustainable, fossil-fueled industrial production-based economies to cleaner, greener technologies of the emerging information-rich Solar Age, based on renewable energy and resources, working within nature's cycles and tolerances? Naturally,

the resource-rich but cash-poor developing countries of the South refused to be bound by the same rules for capping their share of green-

house gas emissions (twenty percent of the world's total) as those proposed for the cash-rich countries responsible for eighty percent of the emissions. This challenged the traditional economic and legal rules of Western societies.

Several new proposals were negotiated: a Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) sponsored by Brazil, which would facilitate rapid transfers of green technologies, to enable developing countries to leapfrog the industrialization stage, in exchange for their ecological assets (biodiversity, oxygen, and carbon-sink capacities of rainforests, services of watersheds, etc.). Northern countries promoted Joint Implantation projects—often scams whereby companies receive credit offsetting their pollution by "sink-enhancement" or "carbon-sequestration" efforts (e.g. planting trees) in developing countries.

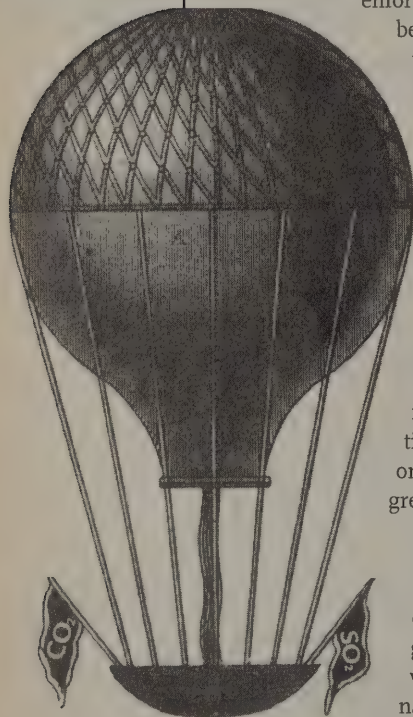
Predictably, economists' favorite proposals were based on extending markets and property rights, i.e., setting up pollution permit-trading of CO₂ similar to that allowed under the US Clean Air Act. This act gave rights to emit SO₂ to polluting companies, which were then allowed to sell and trade them on the Chicago Board of Trade (CBOT). Developing countries balked at a similar global proposal, unless such CO₂ permits were allocated equitably to all countries on a per-capita basis—so that the poor could at least sell them to the rich.

The constant, self-serving drumbeat of Western economists promoting such

pollution-trading cannot mask these equity concerns. CBOT trading of SO₂ has been unfair, since it deals with polluting the air in a global commons which all humans must breathe. The CBOT assumes national sovereignty of airsheds! Worse, the SO₂ permits were given to polluting companies rather than being auctioned, the correct approach for public assets. This set up rewards for laggard polluters, encouraging sub-optimal "end of the pipe" controls and lazy management—while punishing everyone else, including all of the innovating young companies emerging in the information/solar age sectors.

I asked the White House Advisor on Climate Change: "If the USA had really wanted a wide, liquid, and efficient market for SO₂, why did they not give rights to emit SO₂ to every man, woman and child in the country?" He agreed that this would have been the most logical way to set up such a market. Instead we got just another prejudiced trading desk on the global casino, parading as free trade.

The CO₂ pollution trading schemes are on hold until the equity issues are resolved. This will entail major North-South agreements and perhaps a proposed new type of "green" International Monetary Fund (IMF) owned by all the signatory nations, which would govern any pollution-trading regimes and oversee Joint Implementation and CDMs. —HH



cost much less than the yearly budget of the Tokyo Fire Department.

The lack of US funding has pressured the UN into seeking funds from and partnerships with businesses. Such partnerships—especially with green businesses—should be encouraged. But, what standards will a corporation partnering with the UN be required to meet? The UN Development Programme, whose mission is poverty eradication and sustainable human development, is seeking partnerships with corporations—provided that they meet its high standards. Any contracts with polluting, employee-exploiting, or otherwise irresponsible companies could harm UN credibility. Any partnerships that avoid corporate transparency and external auditing will be questioned. Some CSOs and smaller companies suspect that the UN favors the World Business Council on Sustainable Development and other corporate giants of the industrial era. Yet the UN will never offer its “brand name” to the highest bidder.

These questions have not been allayed by the realization that powerful global corporations have captured the World Bank, the IMF, and the World Trade Organization (WTO)—all originally within the UN’s mandate—and succeeded in shutting down agencies they opposed, including the UN Center on Transnational Corporations, and in crippling UNESCO, UNCTAD, and UNIDO (seen as controlled by developing countries) and marginalizing the International Labor Organization and the UN Environment Program.

CHAMPIONING THE UN

Contrarian that I am, I decided the best way to call to account those currency speculators, tax evaders, bio-pirates, drug dealers, arms traffickers, transboundary polluters, toxic waste dumpers, and child exploiters was to champion the UN and its time-honored standard-setting and treaty-negotiating process. This meant that I had to defend the UN from anti-abortion foes, various militia groups, and isolationists within the US and Congress. Their numbers are small in spite of the noise they make; surveys show most Americans still support the UN and actually trust the UN more than their own politicians in Washington.

In 1994, I launched a civic group with friends and allies in many countries, the Global Commis-

WETV

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info@wetv.com, www.wetv.com.

A new common asset: global, multi-cultural public access TV is now a reality in WETV (the WE stands for “We the People” and “Whole Earth”). Citizens in mediocracies and attention economies are already sick of much of the content of online, cable, and broadcast media. They demand more useful content and coverage of community problem-solving, higher quality entertainment, education, and children’s programming. WETV, headquartered in Ottawa, is a public-private-civic network with a state-of-the-art multi-media backbone now in thirty countries. It’s committed to programming for human development, allowing self-expression from CSOs and the grassroots on global and local issues.

We are learning that cultural diversity is as important as bio-diversity, and both are the bedrock wealth of nations. Funded by the humanitarian aid programs of seven countries, led by Canada, WETV has obtained rights to all UN television programming and that of many other public-service producers. WETV is now opening



some ownership to private investors and I am proud to be one of the first. As a member of its Business Advisory Council, I am now working to bring in other socially responsible investors and businesses which will accept WETV’s stringent code of conduct and standards for private-sector partners and will help guide a new TV series on emerging trends toward a more ethical marketplace. —HH

sion to Fund the United Nations. The Global Commission functions as a virtual organization, with members from over forty countries, ranging from ambassadors, parliamentarians, and a Nobel Laureate, to leaders of civic organizations.

The Global Commission produced a report showing how defending the global commons could also raise money to conserve such resources, and to fund the UN and many other humanitarian and development activities around the world. The Commission’s report clearly demonstrated that the stumbling block to equitable, sustainable, human development is not money. Although the Agenda 21 agreements signed by 170 nations in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 estimated that shifting priorities to sustainable development would cost \$650 billion, the Commission showed the truth. If governments just stopped funding some \$750 billion worth of subsidies to unsustainable development (i.e. pork-barrel projects), there would be plenty of money left over. The Commission’s report also advocated defending the global commons by encouraging international agreements, so that countries could (1) levy user-fees on all commercial exploitation of oceans, atmosphere, the electromagnetic spectrum, space and the newer commons of financial cyberspace, and the global casino, and (2) exact fines for abuses such as arms trafficking, polluting, and currency speculation.

Other proposals included a UN Security





Insurance Agency (UNSI), a new global commons system of political risk management that is now possible. Employment of UNSIA could reduce the world's military budgets by using insurance instead of weapons. UNSIA would be a public-private-civic partnership among the UN Security Council, the insurance industry, and the hundreds of civic, humanitarian organizations which engage worldwide in conflict-resolution and peace-building. Any nation wanting to cut its military budget and redeploy its investments into its civilian sectors could apply to UNSIA for a peace-

keeping insurance policy. The insurance industry would supply political-risk assessors and write the policies. The premiums would be pooled to fund both properly trained peace-keepers and a rapid-deployment online network of existing civic and humanitarian organizations to build trust and confidence on the ground. The UNSIA proposal is now backed by several Nobel Prize winners, including Dr. Oscar Arias and other leaders, and risk-management insur-

Hazel is an old Whole Earth friend, independent futurist, and heartfelt mover of global thought and institutions. Her latest book is *Building a Win-Win World* (1996; Berrett-Koehler Publishers). Her editorial columns can be found in 400 newspapers in twenty-seven languages—but not in the US! She received the Global Citizen Award in 1996.

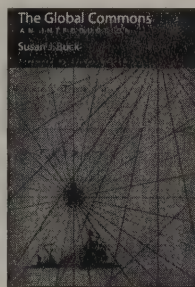
ance is taught at the London School of Economics and other major institutions. UNSIA was debated in the UN Security Council in April, 1996, the first time that body had considered the need to bring civic humanitarian organiza-

tions into peace-keeping operations. In May 1996, the Security Council called on the Secretary General to investigate the feasibility of a rapid-deployment humanitarian force and, in October 1996, the Norwegian government pledged \$1 million to this project.

I am now a working investor on a new project: global, multi-cultural, public access TV (see p. 19). I've always dreamed of this global way to counter consumerist disinformation from commercial sources and give prominence to emerging trends that favor sustainability and a more ethical marketplace. I do not expect to see the fruits of any of these initiatives in my lifetime—but my grandson may—as our societies evolve toward planetary ecological awareness and we remember the difference between common money and the wealth of the commons. ⊕

The Global Commons An Introduction

Susan Buck. 1998; 225 pp. \$25. Island Press.



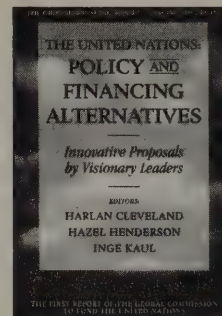
As I found out during my service from 1974 until 1980 on the original Advisory Council of the US Office of Technology Assessment, the "tortoise"

of social innovation always lags behind the "hare" of technological innovation. The former is suspect as planning, while even the most trivial new technologies in the private sector are hailed in media and corporate advertising as innovations or breakthroughs. Laws, treaties, and standard-setting lag even further behind today's accelerating rates of technological change.

Susan Buck sides with the tortoises, providing an excellent overview of today's pro-

The United Nations Policy and Financing Alternatives

Harland Cleveland, Hazel Henderson, and Inge Kaul, eds. 1995; 269 pp. \$12.95. Apex Press, 777 United Nations Plaza, Suite 3C, New York, NY 10017, 800/316-2739, 212/972-9877.



The sub-subtitle of this book is "Innovative Proposals by Visionary Leaders." And so it is. Published in 1995 as the first report of the Global Commission to Fund the United Nations, it has served and is serving its purpose:

to stir up the imagination and let sail facts and proposals that contradict such popular assumptions as "most Americans have qualms about the United Nations and its future directions," or "Americans are opposed to taxes for international pollution or currency exchange." The UN budget seems so meager by the end of this book that you wonder why it's getting such a bad rap. A fine document to recalibrate the UN's role in the global commons. —PW

“Who pays for ‘international relations’? . . . What do ‘international relations’ cost? The calculation cannot be based on the expense accounts of the

liferating issues. Buck looks at such global commons as the oceans, the atmosphere, and space from an historical, institutional, legal, and economic perspective. She summarizes the evolution of law, jurisprudence, treaties, property rights, and the growing concern over managing and allocating planetary “resources” in the industrialized world. —HH

“After reviewing the history and structure of the global commons, do current trends point to the Grotian moment..“a time in which a fundamental change of circumstances [creates] the need for a different world structure and a different international law”?

“Compliance is affected by monitoring and enforcement. How whale harvests are monitored and what sanctions are imposed on nations that violate International Whaling Commission (IWC) directives are part of the implementation component. A recurrent criticism of both international relations and international law is that effective enforcement is virtually impossible because there

scattering of diplomats around the world, let alone those concentrated in New York or Geneva or other international watering holes.

You would surely have to add in all the intelligence agents clustered in Washington, Brussels, Istanbul, Cairo, Tokyo and the many other places...who are assumed...to have some higher wisdom highly priced in the international market for secret information. And you would have to count the many agents of less impressive yet even more international networks of merchants, shipowners, airlines, insurance underwriters, currency speculators—and militant religionists and terrorist conspirators.

Then you would have to widen the net to count the world's military establishments, and the puffery of the arms suppliers....Better add in, too, the growing army of volunteer peacemakers who cluster around those who brandish the biggest weapons.

You could widen the net further to include all the trade negotiators, the exporters and importers, the protectionist lobbies and free-trade advocates, the business firms that span the globe with their internal transactions, and the miracle workers in information technology who make possible a truly global trade in things, money, culture, ideas and information, more and more of it bounced off

is no routinized sanctioning mechanism. However, equally striking is the observation that international agreements work more often than they do not....National leaders recognize that future cooperative ventures, which may be to their advantage, may be jeopardized if they become known as unreliable international actors.... Although cooperation entails costs (especially transaction and monitoring costs), it also reduces economic uncertainty because international regimes provide predictability. Routinization is especially helpful in the global market economy because of the high transaction costs of negotiating exchange terms individually with all possible exchange partners.

orbiters in the sky. You should certainly count the cost of exchanging more than a trillion dollars...each day across the world's increasingly porous boundaries. And you can't leave out the costs of migration—the costs that were too heavy to bear where the migrants came from, the costs of holding some of them in semi-permanent 'camps,' the costs of their transition in leaky boats and across leaky frontiers, the costs of proving they belong somewhere else, the costs of their resettlement wherever compassionate new neighbors welcome them to a new 'home'....

The aggregate costs of international relations are thus incalculable. What can be calculated, calibrated, judged, and acted on are the costs of doing something international about the human choices and chances in 'world affairs.'

“ Virtually all Americans favour US participation in a world conference to make the United Nations more effective in the area of

- global security—92% favour;
- global environmental issues—93% favour;
- helping to shift economies to sustainable development that uses resources less wastefully and does not foreclose continuing development for future generations—84% favour.

“ free riders People or groups who benefit from the efforts of others without bearing any of the costs.

... global commons Resource domains to which all nations have legal access, such as outer space.

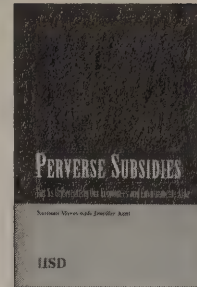
... international commons Resource domains shared by several nations, such as the Mediterranean Sea and Antarctica.

... precautionary principle The normative position that when faced with scientific uncertainty about the outcome of a proposed environmental policy, the alternative that poses the least risk should be chosen. In lay terms, “Better safe than sorry.”



Perverse Subsidies Tax \$s Undercutting Our Economies and Environments Alike

Norman Myers with Jennifer Kent. 1998; 229 pp. US\$20 (\$25 postpaid). International Institute for Sustainable Development, 161 Portage Avenue East - 6th Floor, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 0Y4, Canada, 204/958-7700. fax 204/958-7710, info@iisd.ca.



Subsidies are a means of adjusting economics. Beneficial subsidies can help level the playing field, correct inequalities, and boost desirable action that generally improves life. Perverse subsidies commonly benefit an undeserving minority at the expense of the rest of society and the environment. They often fund egregiously unsustainable development. They're usually camouflaged and unrecognized. Not any more. Author Norman Myers documents how a selection of particularly perverse subsidies have come to be, and offers positive ways to deal with them without harming innocent dependents. Thoroughly documented, it's nonetheless easy to read. You'll be glad you did. —J. Baldwin

“ U.S. SUGAR GROWERS There could hardly be a more extreme case of perverse agricultural subsidies than the U.S. sugar sector. Especially during the last 35 years, the U.S. government has protected domestic sugar against imports by supplying hefty price supports to sugar growers. This enrichment of a small number of such growers causes American consumers to pay sugar prices at least twice the world level. (It also prompts candy manufacturers to move to Canada where they can purchase sugar on international markets.) Sugar growing is concentrated in southern Florida, where it drains water that would otherwise flow into the Everglades, and returns it with eutrophying fertilizer. The subsidy program costs American consumers \$1.4 billion a year. Transferring each \$1 of subsidy to sugar producers costs the consumer \$2.60 and the economy \$0.70. Each sugar grower receives subsidies worth twice as much as the country's average family income.

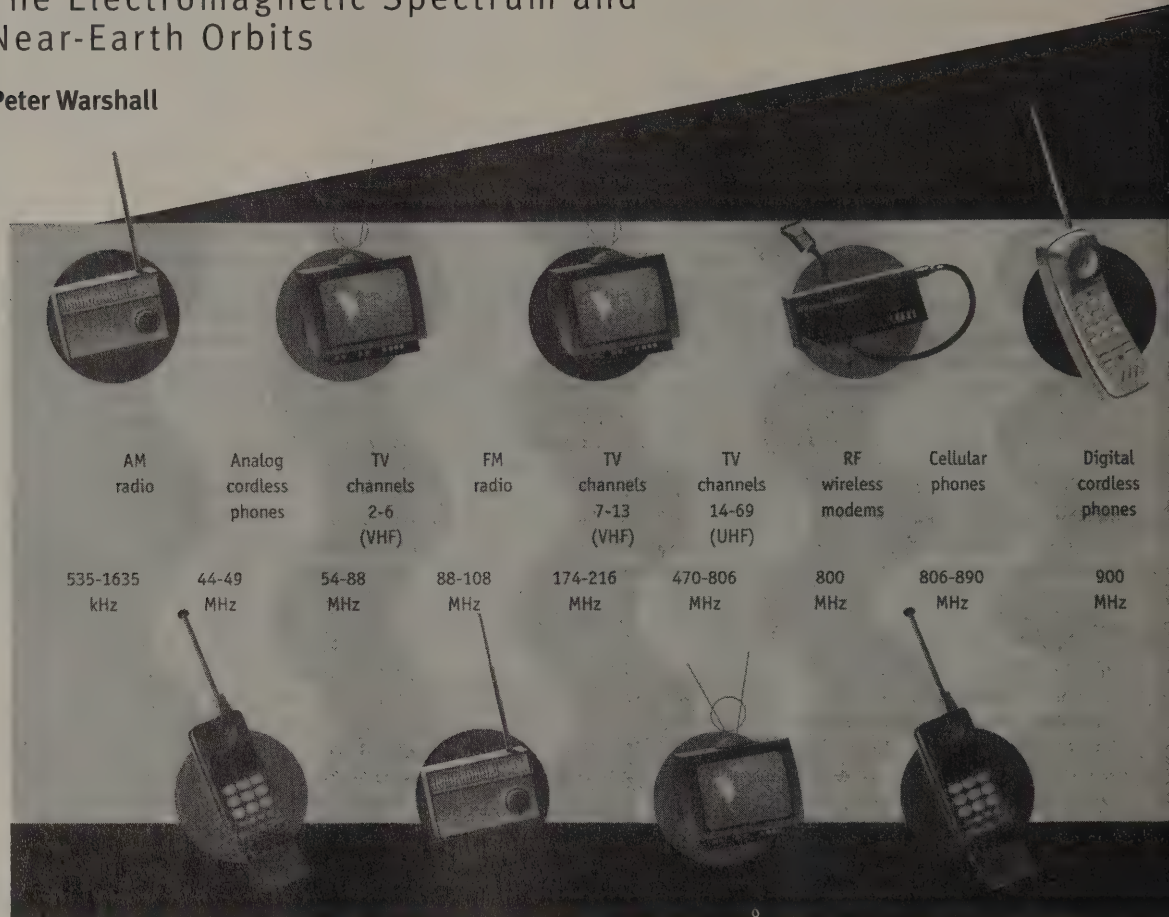
Spacescape Commons

The Electromagnetic Spectrum and Near-Earth Orbits

Peter Marshall

The Electromagnetic Spectrum

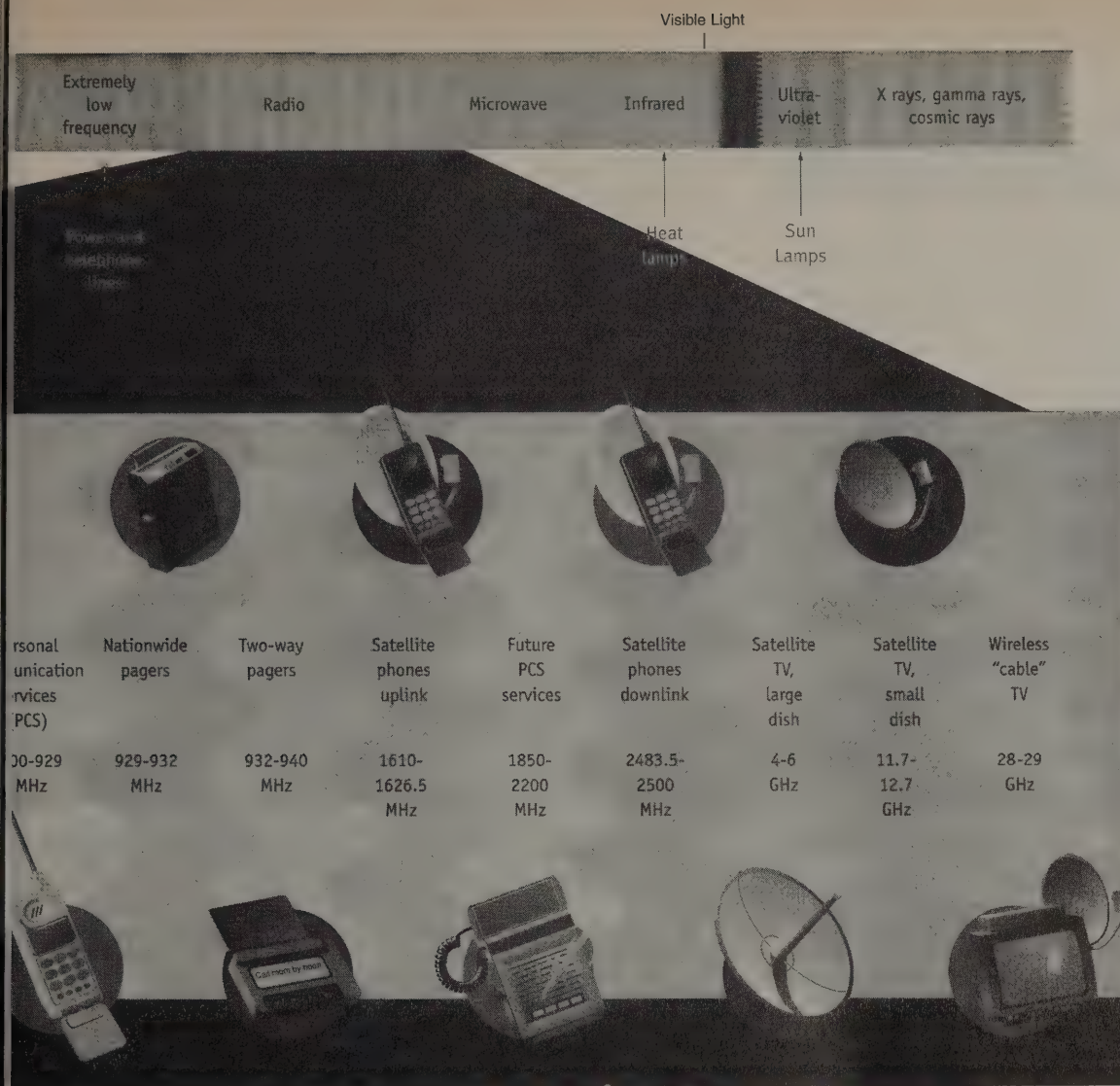
The electromagnetic spectrum is a classification of energy by wave length and frequency. Each band of the spectrum has a unique personality, making some preferable for AM and FM radio or TV or radar or email. Higher-frequency waves have so much energy that they leave the Earth and must be relayed back by satellites (or focused to a ground-based relay stations). Lower-frequency waves bounce back off the ionosphere's "wall." They are cheaper to use but have greater possibilities of spillover and interference.



THE FRONTIER TELECOMMUNICATION commons is still wonderfully ill defined and wireless. Resources are not yet scarce. There are still a multitude of "parking slots" for geostationary satellites, and so far only astronomers have vociferously complained that channels—to broadcast "are-you-there?" messages to extra-terrestrials—have become "captured property" of the telecom industry. Every other spectral commoner and cell-phone user appears delighted. So who are we to mention space debris and warn of potential radio-frequency crowding of the spacescape commons, or to mention that babies born since Sputnik have grown up with a night-sky commons full of blinking and streaking satellites, or now may face a future of many suns (see opposite)?

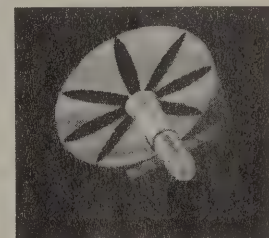
Starting from the Earth's surface, three volumes of space have become "resources." About twenty kilometers (twelve miles) up, in the HALE (high altitude long endurance) program,

dirigibles and pilotless, conventional-looking aircraft will relay data signals in "proto-space." At 350-600 miles, the ionosphere bounces radio and microwaves off its perhaps-limited "wall" space. At 700 to 1,400 kilometers (430 to 870 miles), low earth orbit satellites (LEOs) will vie for parking slots. LEOs are privately owned, cheaper to launch and better suited for video and interactive voice technologies. There are now about 170 in orbit. In ten years, there may be 1,700. Much farther away, at 36,000 kilometers (22,000 miles), but still visible at night, are the geosynchronous orbital satellites (GEOs). These satellites coordinate their speed and movement to the Earth's rotation so that they constantly park over the same spot. To work, they must be at least eighteen kilometers (11.2 miles) apart and on different radio frequencies. If all the parking slots were full, 2,000 GEOs would circle with the Earth, but it is believed that as few as three could serve present needs.



An Earth of Many Suns

An artificial sun may be launched in November 1998. Ten times brighter than the moon, it is a dream of some extreme northerners who hope to establish 200 such reflectors to lighten the dark days of winter. The only things holding up the project are launch costs, fiddling with the devices, and a small outraged group of astronomers who will lose their nighttime viewing.



POPULAR SCIENCE, NOVEMBER 1995

THE SPECTRAL COMMONS

Users of the limited-frequency bands in the microwave and radio ranges must be distinct and non-interfering frequencies for wireless devices to pick them up. These bands are the smallest, highest-value real estate properties on or off the planet. Since the properties are just frequencies in space, they encourage piracy and eavesdropping. Encrypting messages in the spectral commons is like trying to hide out in the terrestrial commons.

The industry, to avoid a commons conflict, has spent big R&D bucks to compress bandwidth, exploit unused bands, and horse-trade or re-assign bands. The Federal Communications Commission, which essentially regulates US interests in the commons, has found an expectant market. It now auctions slots to the highest bidders at billion-dollar prices.

PROJECT WEST FORD

Project West Ford (1961) was a communications experiment in which small copper filaments or needles (dipoles) were launched into space to reflect radio waves at a frequency of 8,000 megacycles. The experiment primarily tested the usefulness of the dipoles as passive reflectors. The project generated substantial controversy, partly because of scientific objection to the underlying theory and partly because those conducting the experiment did not retrieve the dipoles, thus perhaps interfering with other forms of communications and space activities. The experiment was a failure, as the dipoles did not form a reflective belt; however, 350 million copper filaments continue to orbit Earth. (See *The Global Commons*, p. 20). ⊕

No one's discussed how the tundra might respond to multiple suns and more daylight. In the extreme, the word "daylight" might become detached from sunlight. The project has no rules, and citizens in Kiev, London, Seattle, Brussels, Calgary, and Irkutsk have not been asked to vote. A true commercial-frontier commons.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: SPECIAL REPORT ON WIRELESS TECHNOLOGIES, SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, APRIL 1998.

Virtual Commons

It's hard to say much new about the Internet as commons—we've all blabbed ourselves nearly to death on this topic in the last four or five years. Here's the summary, as I see it:

Jaron Lanier

The Internet is the only commons that now enjoys support from the whole political spectrum, including the farthest right. "Technology" is our only universally safe code word for collective caring for the future, oddly enough. You can find nutcases who advocate privatizing the roads, the water, the military, but the Net is still sacred.

The Internet fails as a commons in the sense that you can't fully get away from it. A commons implicitly defines that which is not part of it, a sense of the personal, the private. A commons suggests a social arrangement in which people are able to meet in a shared zone that places some restrictions on personal behavior and identity: a reasonable, consensual, part-time trade-off. A diversity in private life is thereby allowed. Geography provides a ready means to achieve this separateness. The ubiquitous potential of the Net does not. What we're seeing with webcams is only the beginning. In the future, to get away from the Net will require radical strategy.

The Internet is rather big for a commons. One imagines a Kafka story about an ambitious central park so large that it takes days of walking to meet another person with whom one has anything in common. And yet Net culture has, to the surprise of many Net old-timers, "scaled." There actually are online communities, and not just the WELL, and their ephemeral, transient quality doesn't detract from their importance.

The Internet might also turn out to be just a little too fluid to be a commons. We see this in some of the most vexing current problems, such as "my kid downloaded revolting pornography at the school library." There isn't any perfect resolution to this kind of problem. Internet filtering software fails to restrict all porno sites while blocking many non-porno sites, and cannot help but make divisive political and aesthetic judgements.

Another example of an intractable problem is spam. In a commons made of earth and grass, it is easy enough to measure and control obnoxious adver-

tising. In the Internet it is not. The only ultimate solution to spam is to block all unsolicited communication, once again destroying the medium's beauty and *raison d'être*.

To guarantee that the Internet will be acceptable as a commons means ruining it as a tool for personal empowerment, which is its essence and its strength. The Internet can only function as a commons on the basis of a greater degree of trust and faith than have been required by other collective resources.

The Internet will be a commons to the precise degree that people are decent without policing. In one sense, this is a more difficult-to-achieve decency than that required by the old-style grass commons, because it is a full-time, instead of a part-time, job and it must be taken on by large populations instead of just one locality at a time. The most extreme and odd characters will define the limits of experience in an utterly open commons. In a world of increasing population, the extremity in the margins of human behavior can only be expected to increase.

Fortunately, in cyberspace, unlike the physical world, there is not as much of a resource crunch, so human behavior can be seen in the most favorable light. Thus far, it turns out, spam, pornography, and other vices have not been so severe as to destroy the possibility of the Internet as a commons. This is truly a miracle, and the most joyous empirical reason for optimism in centuries. On the other hand, the fear of abuse on the Internet, even if actual abuse hardly materializes, might be enough to kill the possibility of a free Net.

Having said all this, it's important to remember that the historical "commons" were local, rather than global, and therefore exclusionary. The idea that a "commons" can be universal would likely have sounded oxymoronic to the traditional stewards of grass and trees. There has always been a tension between a sense of collective responsibility within one's own clan (at the potential expense of other clans) and a similar wellspring of altruism directed toward humanity or nature as a whole. Clannishness comes more naturally to humans, it seems, than a more universal sense of stewardship.

The Internet was and is made up by people, so there is nothing in it to steward but our own collective sense of trust and faith. We are the trees and the grass. Our sun and water are empathy. ☺

Jaron, a wonderfully conversant member of our editorial board, sparkles, a jolly and honorable white rasta man. A Southwesterner and music maniac, a lover of giant squids, he carries a public persona as a luminary of virtual reality (he invented the phrase), visual programming, and technological change. To me, he's just one of the most honest, insightful buddies you could want to eat with—mousakka or a machaca chimichanga. Hold the calamari. —PW

EuroEnglish

The European Union comissioners have announced that agreement has been reached to adopt English as the preferred language for European communications, rather than German, which was the other possibility. As part of the negotiations, Her Majesty's Government conceded that English spelling had some room for improvement and has accepted a five-year phased plan for what will be known as EuroEnglish (Euro for short).

In the first year, "s" will be used instead of the soft "c". Certainly sivil servants will resieve this news with joy. Also, the hard "c" will be replased with "k". Not only will this klear up konfusion, but typewriters kan have one less letter.

There will be growing publik enthusiasm in the sekond year, when the troublesome "ph" will be replaced by "f". This will make words like "fotograf" 20 percent shorter.

In the third year, publik akseptanse of the new spelling kan be ekspekted to reach the stage where more komplikated changes are possible. Governments will enkorage the removal of double letters, which have always ben a deterrent to akurate speling. Also, al wil agre that the horrible mes of silent "e"s in the languag is disgrasful, and they would go.

By the fourth year, people wil be reseptiv to steps such as replasing "th" by "z" and "w" by "v". During ze fifz year, ze unecessary "o" kan be dropd from vords kontaining "ou" and similar changes vud of kors be aplid to ozer kombinations of leters.

After ze fifz yer, ve vil hav a reli sensibl riten styl. Zer vil be no mor trubls or difikultis and evrivun vil find it ezi tu understand ech ozer.

Ze drem vil finali kum tru. ⊕



Ve vil hav a reli sensibl riten styl.

Zer vil be no mor trubls or difikultis and evrivun vil find it ezi to understand ech ozer.



Captain Paul Watson

Neptune's Manifesto

How a few good pirates can save the oceans



Beginning in the 1600s, the Grand Banks was the great fishing commons of the Atlantic. Now it is a commons emerging from chaos. Just five years ago, there was no sincerity and no trust between fishers. Fish and fishers were deep down on their luck. Like most of the high seas, the Grand Banks was a commons plagued by cheaters and outlaws, lax monitoring, and almost no enforcement. Enter Captain Paul Watson, the Lone Ranger of the open seas, whose monkeywrenching and non-violent protests have elevated oceanic commons after oceanic commons into international consciousness, shaming ineffectual leaders and pushing the process of a robust commons forward. Here is Paul's proposal for a non-governmental, unbiased navy to keep the commons honest. — PW

THE OCEANS OF THE WORLD desperately need some aggressive, committed, passionate, determined pirates—eco-pirates of conscience to stop the ongoing destructive pillaging by the pirates of profit and greed.

The pirates of greed operate on the high seas with impunity, so why not build a navy of the former—an eco-force of environmental privateers, beholden to no corporate interests or state authority?

It was not the British or Spanish Navy that put an end to piracy on the Spanish Main in the seventeenth century. God knows, both navies spent considerable energies and resources in pursuit of that goal, but both failed miserably. Piracy was instead vanquished by an individual—a pirate, Captain

Henry Morgan, in fact. For his efforts, he was rewarded with the governorship of Jamaica.

Individuals and non-governmental organizations can triumph where state governments fail because bureaucracy can be dispensed with and expediency can be deployed. Whereas the bureaucratic state is shackled into non-action by the vested interests and conflicting political ambitions of its citizens, a non-governmental organization is fueled by the common interests and passionate desires of its members. A state must include all interests, many of which are in conflict. A non-governmental organization moves ahead by a common interest and seeks a common goal.

If the common goal is also one that nations

agree with in principle, if not in practice, then an NGO that reflects this common concern should be at least tolerated, if not actively supported by some nation-states.

There were many in the British and Spanish Empires who profited directly and indirectly from piracy, including many in positions of influence. The advocates in government wishing to end piracy had to wade through the muck of political and corporate corruption, special interests, diplomatic dilemmas, conflicting ambitions, and just plain old bureaucratic red tape.

Captain Morgan, on the other hand, concerned only with his own ambitions, simply got on with the job, and most effectively.

POST-MODERN PIRACY

Today, another form of piracy is practiced on the high seas. The ever-escalating demand for resources is pillaging the planet's oceans.

And because this greater part of the Earth's surface is free of state authority, there is no structure, and no political or policing body that is in a position to defend these resources from high-seas piracy. The world's oceans are an open frontier, with everything up for grabs for those who possess the biggest and best technologies to extract fish, seals, whales, minerals, oil, krill, plankton, or energy. The same holds true for those who view the seas as a dump site for radioactive waste, sewage, toxins, or discarded plastic.

On the high seas, might makes right. It is the only law that exists in practical fact, whereas most international laws exist only in theory. Laws without enforcement are not worth the paper they are written upon. Captain Jacques Cousteau once told me that he believed that the navies of the world should stop playing war games with each other and get down to the real business of protecting the oceans from the greed of humanity.

Of course, navies are merely the tools of nation-states and it is not in the real-politik interest of any nation-state to protect the common heritage for the good of the commons. In the long term, of course, it makes perfect sense, but politics has not been a discipline to concern itself with long-range objectives.

HIGH SEA FRONTIER COMMONS

We are stuck with a dilemma. The oceans are being plundered, yet the status quo of international law allows nation-states to choose to disregard any law, even if they have agreed to abide by it.

At present, what we know as international law is merely a collection of agreements by certain nation-states, all of which have no binding force to back up their implementation.

The drafting of the laws is undertaken only by those who are deemed to have "standing" to do so—i.e., representatives of nation-states.

Monitoring of ecological balance, of fish stock or whale populations, is underfunded, biased, or simply ignored for the political convenience of industry or agriculture.

The government of Canada in the early eighties was very much aware of the possibility of the collapse of the northern cod fishery off Newfoundland.

Action was continually delayed until the fishery crashed, at which point Canadian Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin launched a public rela-

tions ploy that blamed the whole mess on the Spanish, to distract from the incompetence of his own government.

Canada still has refused to learn from its mistakes. This is illustrated by the fact that salmon populations continue to decline off the West Coast under pressure from the large fishing companies and unions that deny the fragility of the species and the ecosystem.

Crimes against ecology are also crimes against humanity. These crimes have been consistently committed by the same nation-states that possess the standing to participate in the formulation of treaties and laws. None of these states will admit to wrongdoing—or if they do, they will certainly not agree to be penalized for their transgressions.

Just a quick trip through a short list of the crimes of some of these nation-states reveals the awesome extent of lawlessness on the world's oceans: Iraq's gross ecological crime of dumping millions of tons of oil into the Persian Gulf; the former Soviet Union's crime of dumping nuclear reactors into the North Atlantic and Arctic Oceans; Canada's illegal whaling and incompetent management of both Atlantic and Pacific fisheries; Mexico's slaughter of dolphins and the endorse-



SEA SHEPHERD CONSERVATION SOCIETY—LOS ANGELES

Sea Shepherd's ship rams a driftnetter.

“States, and, to the extent they are able, other public authorities, international organizations, individuals, groups and corporations shall...

ment of this slaughter by the United States in the interest of trade; Norway’s and Japan’s blatant violations of the global moratorium on commercial whaling; the drift-netting of the oceans by Taiwan, Korea and Japan, with

monstrously long nets; uncontrolled worldwide poaching of marine wildlife; cyanide poisoning of tropical reefs; the operation of unsafe oil tanker traffic by all nations; the unrelenting destruction of wetlands and estuaries.

The litany of threats to the environment is endless and ongoing. The real victims, the generations yet unborn, have no voice to protest and no standing to contest these crimes.

Yet, we have laws to protect the environment. Don’t we? Japan and Norway are both members of the International Whaling Commission, and between them they have slaughtered some 18,000 whales since the IWC implemented a global moratorium on commercial whaling in 1986.

We have international conventions like the 1973 convention on vessel-dumping at sea and the

1973 convention for the prevention of pollution by ships, both of which are essentially unenforceable.

Article 192 of the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea provides: “States have the obligation to protect and preserve the marine environment.”

These are all words, without adequate measures for enforcement.

One possibility for enforcement is the enactment of national legislation that would impose trade embargoes on offending nations. For example, under regulations of the US Department of Commerce, measures can be taken to sanction nations that do not adhere to the rulings of the International Whaling Commission. Despite this being the law, President Clinton has consistently chosen to ignore the law and has substituted “letters of protest” to offending whaling nations like Norway and Japan. His reasoning is that the issue is not worth upsetting trade relations over. As a result, despite the law, both nations have annually raised their illegal quotas without recriminations from any nation.

Both the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as international treaties render domestic legislation like the US Endangered Species Act subordinate. International trade agree-

For Cod and Country

Captain Paul Watson and Friends

Agúst Ólafsson, a deckhand aboard the *Ver*, poses with a cod for the ship’s chef, Gudbjartotur Asgeirsson, circa 1925.

For years, conservationists including Sea Shepherd and inshore fishers (who use small boats with hook and line) warned about the threat to Canada’s fisheries from the new and massive technology known as “mobile gear,”—dragger fleets plowing every square centimeter of the Grand Banks, even dropping their bottom drags through winter ice packs directly onto the spawning grounds of the northern cod.

Finally, in February 1992 the Canadian dragger fleets stopped fishing. Crews were laid off; the northern cod fishery had collapsed. Two months later, Federal Fisheries punished the small inshore fishers by declaring a two-year “total” moratorium on the northern cod. The same men and women who had pleaded for so many years for government action to protect the fish were now on the receiving end of the only action the government had ever taken. And foreign trawlers continued to reap their unholy harvest outside Canada’s 200-mile limit, with no interference from



Canadian authorities.

In July 1993, the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society decided to launch a dragnet of our own: announce our intentions upon departure, lure the Canadian government into taking action against us, and then create the incident by provoking a confrontation outside the 200-mile limit with a foreign-registered dragnet trawler.

Our boat, the *Cleveland Amory*, entered the Tail of the Bank. We were

met by a Canadian Coast Guard ship, the Canadian Fisheries Patrol vessel, the European Community fishing patrol vessel, a German-registered ship, and overflights by the Canadian Coast Guard, Canadian Air force, Department of Fisheries, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Three ships and four aircraft followed us throughout the morning.

Leading the flotilla of *federales*, we headed toward and made radio contact with the Cuban-flagged drag trawler *Rio*

FROM COD (SEE REVIEW, P. 33).

ments negate domestic conservation legislation. For this reason, Mexico successfully sued the US under GATT for barring trade in tuna caught by the method of "fishing on porpoise." This in turn forced the US to overturn legislation protecting dolphins from tuna nets.

What all this means is that the future looks bleak for conservation because it will always be forced to take a back seat to the interest of free trade.

OCEANIC RANGE WARS

Of course, as resources are depleted, warfare will become the natural extension of diplomatic discussions. We saw this surface in 1973 with the British and Icelandic cod war when Iceland unilaterally extended its territorial limit to fifty miles. This was the first step toward an international agreement creating the globally recognized 200-mile limit, a measure that was successful because it appealed to the territorial ambitions of all the participating states.

Still, this was not enough. In 1995 Canada fired on the Spanish trawler *Estai* outside the 200-mile limit to underscore its desire to protect fish that it considered its own regardless of whether said fish might travel across an imaginary line in the water

in the course of their migrations. In turn, Spain charged the Canadian Fisheries Minister with piracy, but, like everything else on the high seas, the charges did nothing. The incident furthered the Minister's political ambitions in Canada.

Spain carried on fishing as Canada congratulated itself for displaying some rare machismo.

It is interesting to note that it was Canada that arrested me in 1993 for chasing the Cuban fishing fleet off the Tail of the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. This was also outside of Canada's 200-mile limit. Nonetheless, as a Canadian citizen, I was put on trial on three counts of felony mischief. Although I did not damage any property or injure any person, Canada attempted to impose two life sentences plus ten years as punishment for having demanded that the Cubans leave the area.

What I had done was no different than what Canada did to the Spanish two years later, except that I did not use force. My trial was held shortly after the Spanish incident, and when my attorney

...(e) Safeguard and conserve nature in areas beyond national jurisdiction." —Principle 21 of the United Nations World Charter for Nature.

Las Casas, as she prepared to lower her drag nets. Citing the authority of the World Charter for Nature, we requested the Cubans to cease fishing and return to Havana. Seeing a large black ship leading a squadron of government vessels with government air support overhead, they agreed to leave without argument. At that point, the feds radioed the Cubans to advise them that they could ignore the black ship "under the command of an environmental terrorist."

Capt. Paul Watson maneuvered his boat alongside the Cuban vessel, allowing ORCAFORCE commandoes to lob two butyric-acid stink bombs from the *Cleveland Amory* onto the Cubans' aft gear deck. The *Rio Las Casas* withdrew.

The Mounted Police subsequently arrested Capt. Watson in international waters. They took control of the *Cleveland Amory*. When its crew refused to run the boat for them, they towed it to Newfoundland. The price tag to Canadian taxpayers for this operation to keep the Banks safe and secure for a hundred foreign draggers: \$3.5 million.

As the ships approached Newfoundland, hundreds of inshore fishermen gathered on the docks, angry that their government, which had spent nothing

and done nothing to protect the fish and Canadian jobs, had just spent more than \$3 million to protect the jobs and profits of foreign fishing and multinational fish processors. The inshore fishermen—many of them former sealers who had hated Paul Watson for contributing to the demise of the commercial seal hunt a decade before—cheered the *Cleveland Amory*. A Sea Shepherd crew shirt was a ticket for a free drink in the pubs of St. John's. Author Farley Mowat put up half of Capt. Watson's bail.

About one year later (see "Neptune's Manifesto"), the Canadian government revived its moribund campaign promises to protect the cod fisheries. In international waters, a Canadian Fisheries patrol vessel ordered the Panamanian-flagged *Kristina Logos* to heave to, and confiscated its 100-ton catch of cod and flounder.

In 1995, shortly before the Watson felony mischief trial began, Canada attacked and seized the Spanish trawler *Estai*. When the *Estai* crew refused to allow Mounties aboard, the Coast Guard fired four blasts of 50-caliber machine-gun fire and used water cannons and tear gas to force the *Estai's* surrender.

Capt. Watson was not allowed, in his defense, to use the fact that the Canadian

government's actions (using machine guns and tear gas) and Capt. Watson's (using stink bombs and cannons with projectiles loaded with pie filling) were both in support of the cod fisheries and international law, and were legally or illegally identical. Capt. Watson was being prosecuted, while eco-terrorist-come-lately Fisheries Ministry Brian Tobin had become a national hero. However, the prosecution could not prevent the jurors from reading the newspapers. They found Watson not guilty of all charges of criminal mischief. After a total expenditure of \$4.5 million by the Canadian government for his arrest and trial, Watson was convicted of minor mischief for "aiding and abetting the delivery of a stink bomb," and fined \$35. In 1996, Brian Tobin was named Premier of Newfoundland. The International Court of Justice has yet to rule on Spain's complaints against Canada. ⊕



attempted to compare my actions to those of Canada, the judge ruled that it was improper to compare one criminal action to another criminal action as a precedent. In his summation, the Crown Prosecutor informed the jury that "a message must be sent that interference by citizens with over-fishing must not be tolerated."

SHERIFF WITHOUT A BADGE

In other words, it was not my actions that were objectionable, but the fact that the actions were not taken by a representative of the State. Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin was lauded as a hero for doing what I had done—after charging me with the commission of a crime when I did the same thing.

The jury trial did give me the opportunity to defend myself utilizing the United Nations World Charter for Nature.

Specifically, I pleaded that I had acted in accordance with Principle 21 Section (e) of the Charter, which reads:

"States, and, to the extent they are able, other public authorities, international organizations, individuals, groups and corporations shall:

"...(e) Safeguard and conserve nature in areas beyond national jurisdiction."

Canada sent a legal expert to my trial to argue that although Canada had indeed signed the World Charter for Nature, the Charter was not to be considered as a defense for actions under Canadian law. My lawyer successfully argued that if Canada signed the Charter, then Canada agreed with the Charter.

Canada informed me that I was responsible for some thirty-five million dollars in lost revenue to the Cubans. All I could see was the vast number of fish this represented and considered it a victory.

I have been operating under the World Charter's stipulation for many years. The same spirit that brought it into being compelled me to set up the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society—not as a protest organization but as an enforcement organization to uphold international laws and treaties.

I began this endeavor in 1977, five years before the Charter came into existence, but it was in anticipation of the need for the Charter that I did so. In 1982, the Charter simply gave us some legal

authority to act.

I confess to being a pirate. Since 1979, we have sunk nine outlaw whaling ships and have rammed numerous illegal drift netters and tuna boats. In doing so, we are complying with the law, as defined by the UN General Assembly in 1982: States, and, to the extent that they are able, other public authorities, international organizations, individuals, groups and corporations shall safeguard and conserve nature in areas beyond national jurisdiction.

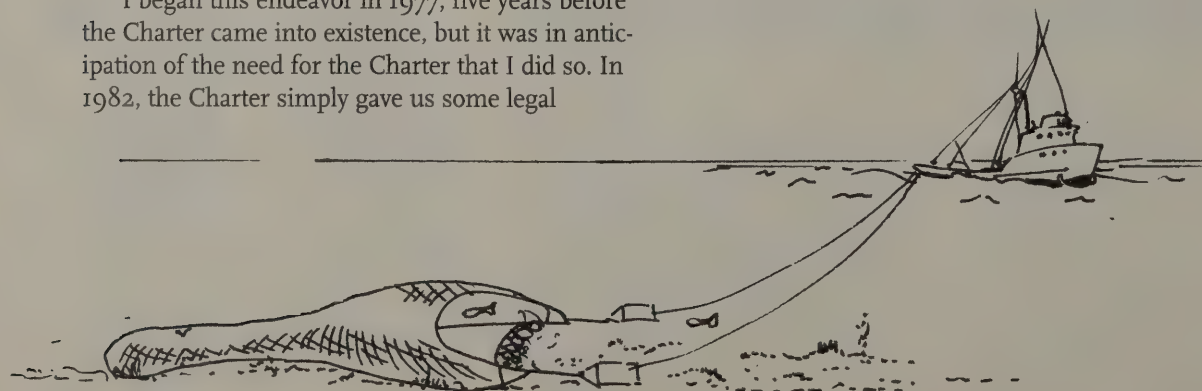
This is our letter of marque from the United Nations.

It is interesting to note just how much of a threat this makes us. As the only organization that has enforced the rulings of the International Whaling Commission, we are the only organization banned from attending the meetings of the IWC. This was at Iceland's insistence.

In 1988, I turned myself in to Icelandic authorities in Reykjavik to answer charges brought over our scuttling of half the Icelandic whaling fleet in November 1986. Not only did Iceland refuse to lay charges against me, they deported me the next day. They knew that to put me on trial would be to put themselves on trial. In 1990 and 1992, I rammed and disabled Japanese drift net vessels in the North Pacific. We documented the ramming and challenged Japan to lay charges. They did not. They could not because they themselves were acting illegally.

It is important to understand that we are not advocating the enforcement of our philosophy against any random target. The IWC is the only international body empowered by participating nation-states to draft whale conservation regulations. According to Article 65 of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, states shall cooperate with a view to the conservation of marine mammals, and in the case of cetaceans, shall in particular work through the appropriate international organization for their conservation, management, and study.

Otter dragnet trawl. The "otters" are boards near the mouth of the net which hold it open. Trawlers scrape off ("clearcut") sea-bottom life in pursuit of groundfish such as cod.



The UN Conference on the Environment and Development in Rio De Janiero in 1992 further reinforced this ruling by recognizing the IWC as the legitimate body overseeing whale conservation regulations.

The Rio document called Agenda 21 also gave reinforcement to the World Charter for Nature by stating: "Governments and legislators should establish judicial and administrative procedures for legal redress and remedy of actions affecting environment and development that may be unlawful or infringe on rights under the law, and should provide access to individuals, groups, and organizations with a recognized legal interest."

Sea Shepherd activities have served only to enforce rulings that nations have arrogantly chosen to disregard.

True, we don't always stick to areas beyond national jurisdiction. We did sink the whalers in port, when no one was on board, so as to not risk injury to their crew. But we were enforcing an international moratorium against nations that had agreed to abide by the rulings of the IWC, and we were protecting a species that was not restricted to the territorial waters of the offending state.

It may be argued that our actions are undemocratic (though many of the nations that are signatory to treaties are non-democratic). I feel that our actions are democratic in the extreme, because we represent a far greater constituency. We act on behalf of all other species and on behalf of thousands of unborn human generations. Our great democracies represent only a small planetary minority—people—and only of this generation, and generally excluding children, and, of course, excluding the millions of other species that also are entitled to rights on this planet.

NEPTUNE'S NAVY

As a small organization, our actions have been effective but restricted. There is a need to build an aggressive international oceanic policing force that is answerable to no particular government but is answerable to the commons in principle. There really is no reason why this cannot be done.

A non-governmental organization has as much right to operate on the high seas as any government. Instead of citizens, this organization

would have contributing members who fund an enforcement body and empower them to uphold existing laws, conventions, treaties, regulations, and agreements despite the protests of the participating signatories.

This "Neptunian Tribunal" would not create laws but would simply enforce existing laws already agreed upon by nation-states. The World Charter for Nature provides the authority for individuals and organizations to act in this manner, limited only to the "extent that they are able."

I would envision this organization as a worldwide web of contacts that would monitor and communicate relevant information on all activities that transgress against established law. Armed with this information, the organization would then deploy either covert tactical units or overt police force where it is needed.

Because enforcement vessels may be designated as pirates and targeted as such (opening an interesting ethical debate as to why "conservation pirates" would be targeted and "corporate pirates" would not), I would advocate for a fleet of submarines. They would be difficult to locate and difficult to attack. They would remain at sea in international waters on a permanent basis. Repairs could be achieved either by a floating dry dock or in a nation that agrees to allow operations within its territory. Crew changes and refueling could take place at sea.

In this way, the vessels would be unflagged and not subject to the laws of any one nation. (The Law of Admiralty or Maritime Law is confined primarily to shipping. Its jurisdiction is in practice relegated to the territoriality of the nation where any charges have been formulated. It is not applicable to the high seas.)

We have the communications technology to make this work. Instantaneous worldwide communication is a reality. We have concerned, skilled, willing participants. All that is really needed is the organization to bring it all together to finance and deploy it.

What I envision is an independent naval force: Neptune's Navy.

I have already laid the groundwork with the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society.

After all our activities over the last twenty years, I have been called many things, but I am not a con-



SEA SHEPHERD CONSERVATION SOCIETY—LOS ANGELES

Hauling in nets aboard the Sea Shepherd ship.



There is really no reason why we cannot stand up and enforce the law against international ecological piracy. We have the means under international law, we have the skills. We only require the will, the finances, and the courage to act.

"What sort of experience do these people have anyway?" he thundered.

I had to respond that since World War II, the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society has sunk more ships, boarded more ships, and rammed more ships than the Canadian Navy. Our level of in-the-field tactical experience exceeds that of the Canadian Navy. The tactical forces that we have deployed to sink whalers are trained military special forces from various nations. We have lawyers, doctors, engineers, navigators, pilots, electricians, and special ops people.

There is really no reason why we cannot stand up and enforce the law against international ecological piracy. We have the means under international law, we have the skills. We only require the will, the finances, and the courage to act.

It is important to proceed against violations with maximum restraint. Every effort should be implemented to ensure against causing injury to crews employed in illegal actions on the high seas. For this reason, the primary enforcement tools

should be non-lethal tactics and hardware. The objective is interference, intervention, disruption, and intimidation, utilizing vessels, electronics, and, most importantly, documentation.

We contemplate, for instance, the sinking of trashed and torn up junked cars off the Grand Bank. First, of course, we'd burn them to get rid of toxics; then sink them in international waters where they would most likely cut up the trawler nets and, at the same time, provide shelter and habitat for the fish.

victed criminal. There is a big difference between being called a terrorist by an outlaw whaler and being a terrorist in the eyes of the law.

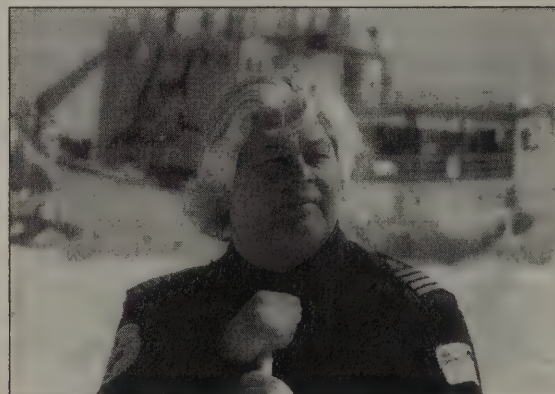
When Sea Shepherd purchased a submarine in 1994, a spokesperson for the Canadian Navy said that it was ridiculous for a conservation organization to have a submarine. He laughingly dismissed us as not knowing what to do with a submarine.

DEEPSEA INTERPOL

At the moment, the most important weapon that can be deployed to ensure that the plundering of the high seas does not take place, out of sight and out of mind, is the camera.

Information could be gathered from a variety of sources, but primarily from an international network of field representatives. We are presently doing this with Norwegian whaling. We have a network of dozens of Norwegian citizens who file reports on the movements of whaling vessels, their takes, and vulnerabilities. These informants can be both paid and volunteer. Field agents would also assist with special operations agents when needed for support and cover.

Although covert operations would be employed, all activities would be publicly acknowledged. It is important that the public be informed at all times that these actions are required to uphold existing laws and are not acts of political or philosophical protest. If I thought that it would be practical to advocate for the United Nations or another representative body of nation-states to create such an enforcement body, I would not hesitate to support such a proposal. However, since the record of international cooperation on this enforcement issue is non-existent, and considering the duplicity of nation-states in appeasing corporate or national interests above the spirit of international cooperation, I believe the solution must be non-governmental. ⊕



SEA SHEPHERD CONSERVATION SOCIETY — LOS ANGELES

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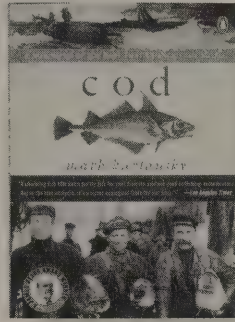
Eco-warriors and bio-gladiators have looked to Captain Paul Watson as the millennium's nouveau-Gandhian role model. Foremost, a great seaman. He's been First Officer on all Greenpeace voyages to protect whales; his protection of harp seals led to the shut-down of the Canadian, Scottish, and Irish seal hunts; he escaped an attack by the Norwegian navy on one of his many interventions with illegal

whalers; and he besmirched Spain's replay of the conquest by boarding the *Santa Maria* off Puerto Rico with a partial crew of Indians. We thank Paul for writing us this manifesto and hope that the UN, other NGOs, and especially Iceland, Norway, Canada, and those free marketeers, the pirates flying flags of convenience, will come to see him as a teacher, not a terrorist. —PW

Cod

Mark Kurlansky. 1997; 294 pp. \$11.95. Penguin Books.

No creature on earth has had more direct impact on world affairs than the humble codfish. Approached on that level, Kurlansky's tale is engrossingly tragic, as he details the sad and maddening story of how modern-day fishermen came to find themselves "at the wrong end of a 1,000-year fishing spree." Tracing the cod's history from ancient times when Norsemen, Basques, and others first stumbled upon the incredibly fecund banks off North America to the ultimate collapse of those grounds from over-fishing, *Cod* is a compelling read. Contributing to the volume's "chowder" texture is the author's inclusion of some choice cod-related anecdotes from letters and journals as well as numerous recipes for the fabled fish, some dating back centuries. —Allston James



“Fishermen are seeing many strange things that are a sign things are not right.” The cod have been reaching sexual maturity younger and smaller. Undersized four-year-olds are spawning. This is not surprising. When a species is in danger of extinction, it often starts reaching sexual maturity earlier. Nature remains focused on survival. But Rose also said that cod were seen spawning in water temperatures of minus one degree Celsius. Cod are supposed to move to warmer water for spawning. Fishermen keep reporting aberrations, such as fish in an area where they have not been

seen before, or at different depths, or a different temperature, or at a different time of year.

Perhaps even more disturbing, Rose's studies have concluded that the northern stock has stopped migrating. The stock had normally followed a 500-mile seasonal migration, but Rose believes that after 1992, the survivors came inshore and stayed. He does not know the reason for this but speculates that the bigger, older fish were the leaders and are no longer there to lead. It is also possible that cod migrate

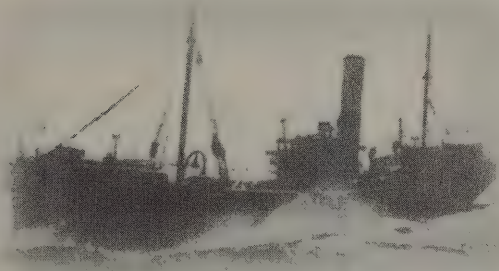
because they need food and space for spawning. With the population so reduced, this is no longer necessary.

“The flesh is so purely white that the large flakes almost glow on the plate. Whiteness is the nature of the sluggish muscle tissue of fish that are suspended in the near-weightless environment at the bottom of the ocean. The cod will try to swim in front of an oncoming trawler net, but after about ten minutes it falls to the back of the net, exhausted. White muscles are not for strength but for quick action—the speed with which a cod, slowly cruising, will suddenly, pounce on its prey.

Left: The Hannes Radherra, a 1930s Icelandic trawler. Trawlers were depicted on trading cards inside packs of cigarettes sold in Iceland. The cigarettes, like the trawlers, were made in England.



Right: Fish and Game Patrol officer, stationed aboard the *Albacore*, is boarding a crab boat to inspect the fisher's catch, circa 1935.



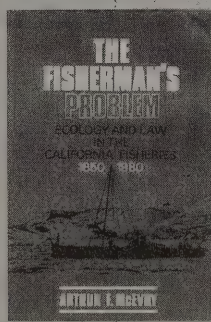
FROM COD

“The Icelandic government realized that it would have to curb the capacity of its own fleet. It required larger mesh on trawls. But the fishermen compensated by buying more trawlers. Then the government restricted the size of the fleet and the number of days at sea; the fishermen responded by buying larger, more efficient gear. The cod stocks continued to decline. In 1984, the government introduced quotas on species per vessel per season. That was a controversial and often wasteful system. A groundfish hauled up from fifty fathoms is killed by the change in pressure. But if it is a cod and the cod quota has been used up, it is thrown overboard. Or if the price of cod is low that week and cod happen to come in the had-dock or plaice net, the fishermen will throw them overboard because they do not want to use up their cod quota when they are not getting a good price.

Deepsea Access

Here are the more academically written books and articles for those delving deeper into the high seas fisheries and minerals issues. Just the most interesting, of course.

The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850-1980.



Arthur F. McEvoy. 1986; 368 pp. \$20.95. Cambridge University Press.

The fisherman's problem consists as much in people stealing from each other as it does in people

stealing collectively from nature. Thoughtful complexity of communities in history.

“International Fisheries Management Institutions: Europe and South Pacific”

Douglas Noonan. In *Managing the Commons*, (page 39).

The South Pacific is more imaginative and better at monitoring and enforcement than the European nations in the North Atlantic. Read why.

Uncommon Property: The Fishing and Fish-Processing Industries in British Columbia

Patricia Marchak, Neil Guppy, and John McMullan, eds. 1989; 402 pp. \$29.95. University of British Columbia Press.

The chaotic salmon fishery of the 1980s. Detailed history of shoreworkers, fishers, native Indians, unions, communities, federal and provincial administration, and the fish. Academic prose, thoughtful insight.

Sea Shepherd Conservation Society

PO Box 628, Venice, CA 90294, 310/301-7325, fax 310/574-3161, www.seashepherd.org.



Can A Nation-State Become a Commons of Nonviolence?

The Dalai Lama's Proposal to Reconcile Conflict Among Russia, China, and India on a Model Similar to Costa Rica or Switzerland

—FROM AN ADDRESS TO MEMBERS OF THE US CONGRESS, SEPTEMBER 21, 1987

I propose that the whole of Tibet, including the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo, be transformed into a zone of "Ahimsa," a Hindi term used to mean a state of peace and nonviolence.

The establishment of such a peace zone would be in keeping with Tibet's historical role as a peaceful and neutral Buddhist nation and buffer state separating the continent's great powers. It would also be in keeping with Nepal's proposal to proclaim Nepal a peace zone and with China's declared support for such a proclamation. The peace zone proposed by Nepal would have a much greater impact if it were to include Tibet and neighboring areas.

THE NEED TO TALK & DELIBERATE

In 1982, following the change of leadership in China and the establishment of direct contacts with the government in Peking, I sent my representatives to Peking to open talks concerning the future of my country and people. We entered the dialogue with a sincere and positive attitude and with a willingness to take into account the legitimate needs of the People's Republic of China. I

hoped that this attitude would be reciprocated and that a solution could eventually be found which would satisfy and safeguard the aspirations and interests of both parties. Unfortunately, China has consistently responded to our efforts in a defensive manner, as though our detailing of Tibet's very real difficulties was criticism for its own sake.

To our even greater dismay, the Chinese government misused the opportunity for a genuine dialogue. Instead of addressing the real issues facing the six million Tibetan people, China has attempted to reduce the question of Tibet to a discussion of my own personal status.

The establishing of a peace zone in Tibet would require withdrawal of Chinese troops and military installations from the country, which would enable India also to withdraw troops and military installations from the Himalayan regions bordering Tibet. This would be achieved under an international agreement which would satisfy China's legitimate security needs and build trust among the Tibetan, Indian, Chinese, and other peoples of the region. This is in everyone's best interest, particularly that of China and India, as it would

enhance their security, while reducing the economic burden of maintaining high troop concentrations on the disputed Himalayan border.

A restoration of good relations between the world's two most populous countries would be greatly facilitated if they were separated—as they were throughout history—by a large and friendly buffer region.

THE BOTTOM LINE: TRUST

To improve relations between the Tibetan people and the Chinese, the first requirement is the creation of trust. After the holocaust of the last decades in which over one million Tibetans—one sixth of the population—lost their lives and at least as many lingered in prison camps because of their religious beliefs and love of freedom, only a withdrawal of Chinese troops could start a genuine process of reconciliation. The vast occupation force in Tibet is a daily reminder to the Tibetans of the oppression and suffering they have all experienced. A troop withdrawal would be an essential signal that in the future a meaningful relationship might be established with the Chinese, based on friendship and trust. ⊕

Photograph by Galen Rowell Mountain Light

Chinese Mig fighter planes in front of the Potata, Lhasa, Tibet.



Place-Based Commons

A NEW WORLD

Small geographic places still hold the key for a workable future. Only citizens *here* in place can tell the stories of small and long-term changes and past experience of communities trying to balance ecosystem, collective emotional experiences, invaders, and self-sustenance. This next section tells a very few stories of commons change—in South Africa (p. 46), New Mexico (p. 44), Florida (p. 58), and Switzerland (p. 46)—that quickly sketch adaptive strategies and the lovely lacing of local commons. In South Africa, the goal of eco-tourism has overwhelmed the park's other goal—supporting its diversity of wildlife. In Switzerland, a century-long perspective on forest health and community change has been answered by interventions and then surprising results. In Florida, spiritual perseverance over 150 years and, finally, a partnership, have brought a commons to the Traditional Seminoles.

The local commons in this new world has a few lessons: do not squander any resource, emotional or material; never let the importance of diversity be minimized; and make sure a gift to the ecosystem is part of the overall commons history. Where place-based commons thrive, commoners navigate between the pain of imperfect information and the pleasure of credible wisdom (based on the imperfect information) with honesty and confidence.

Imagination and freedom are always crucial to the flexible and resilient organization of commoners. Lee Swenson (p. 49) takes readers on a roller-coaster ride with path-breaking thinkers about freedom and imagination in the commons. Leaders of commons, according to the *I Ching*, have personalities that harbor inner clarity and outer strength; their fire and the passions of community commingle. They see differences starkly, not to play constituencies against each other, but to find the common ground.

In America, landscape imagination takes practical form in land trusts (p. 41) and water trusts (p. 40).

With a deep intuition about our culture, land trusts have avoided one of our major taboos: don't screw around with my private property. Land trust leaders understand that private property is neither a human instinct nor inherent in the land. They have created imaginative new bundles of rights and rules to help maintain ecosystems, open spaces in

cities, views, and instream water flows. They form partnerships between what we call "public" and "private" ownership, again seeing that these loaded words can block the imagination from seeing new organizational forms of commons. Humans invented "private" and "public" and we can, actually must, reinvent them. Land-trust thinking serves as a model for future change.

All place-based commons now need co-management in which those whose primary interest is access and extraction (the appropriators) work under rules set by those whose interest includes guardianship. The partnerships are not just the two ends of the spectrum (global and local) but an awkward mix of local, regional, national, private/public, and transnational. As the recent collapse of fisheries highlights, a more conscious effort must be made for monitoring outcomes to keep the abundance of the commons viable as well as long-term commerce probable.

New institutions that monitor—turn what we know into what we will accept—and enforce will not come easily. The defense of the local will not come easily. Local commoners will try out all strategies from mapping (p. 54) to lobbying to lawsuits to boycotts to direct action, nonviolent (p. 26) or otherwise. Which defense becomes necessary rests, in large part, on the willingness of appropriators to respect guardianship of the place-based commons. This is as tough a job as places-based and place-based commoners have ever experienced.

Few commoners want to consume all their time squabbling. To avoid burnout, rules of the commons must stay simple. They can't overwhelm daily life or encourage a cancer of lawyers. We now know why traditional, more stable, commons included taboos. Internalized taboos ("Don't piss on the sidewalk") are efficient, least-cost ways to keep an ecosystem and etiquette from degrading. Righteous taboos emerge in laborious ways as pointed out by urban "free bicycle"

leaders (p. 52) trying to create a taboo against stealing them. Part of having taboos is also having clowns who sit on the side as jesters, revealing that it is always the imagination that construes rules, always the freedom to suggest and laugh at suggestions that moves and, ultimately, makes the commons.

—PW ⊕



MAKING THE COMMONS WORK (SEE P. 39).



Governing the Commons

The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action

Elinor Ostrom. 1990; 280 pp. \$18.95. Cambridge University Press.

This is the most influential book in the last decade on thinking about the commons. For those involved with small communities (fifty to fifty thousand persons) located in one nation, whose lives depend on a common pool of renewable resources (inshore fisheries, grazing areas, groundwater basins, irrigation systems, communal forests), *Governing the*

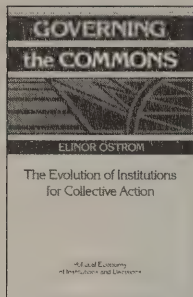
Commons has been the intellectual field guide.

The dialog between most political scientists and economists about resources remains ethereal and downright ideologically silly. Some say the state must control; some say it should all be privatized. No hum. Elinor Ostrom hammers at these high-

IQ types, demonstrating that humans have a diversity of ways to handle their problems and that no single solution is the "best" solution. By being humane, she opens the door for the world to change and communities to change with it. She describes the importance of voluntary organizations in dealing with fluctuating and complex resources, and ends with a theoretical "design framework" which should be studied by any community wanting to cover its organizational bases.

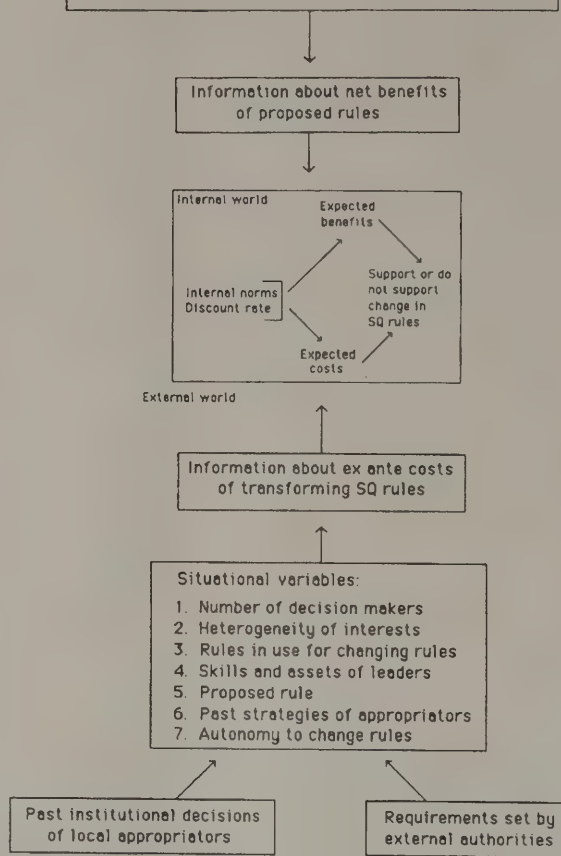
The book is at times a hard read, because she's always slicing thought apart with Aristotelian logic and Latinate terminology. Emotionally, she downplays some of the more wild, lovely, and dangerous influences of such cultural stuff as magic, sacredness, and the karma of kinship. These are small reservations for the pivotal book on common-pool resources, political economy, institutions, and collective decision-making by citizens. —PW

“The term “common-pool resource” refers to a natural or man-made resource system that is sufficiently large as to make it costly (but not impossible) to exclude potential beneficiaries from benefits from its use. To understand the process of organizing and governing CPRs, it is essential to distinguish between the *resource system* and the flow of *resource units* produced by the system, while still recognizing the dependence of the one on the other.



Situational variables:

1. Number of appropriators
2. Size of CPR
3. Temporal and spatial variability of resource units
4. Current condition of CPR
5. Market conditions for resource units
6. Amount and type of conflict
7. Availability of data about (1) through (6)
- B. Status quo rules in use
9. Proposed rules



“No...well-developed and generally accepted theory provides a coherent account for how a set of principals, faced with a collective-action problem, can solve (1) the problem of supplying a new set of institutions, (2) the problem of making credible commitments, and (3) the problem of mutual monitoring.

“The most notable similarity of all, of course, is the sheer perseverance manifested in [common-pool] resource systems and institutions. The resource systems meet Shepsle’s (1989) criterion of institutional robustness, in that the rules have been devised and modified over time according to a set of collective-choice and constitutional-choice rules.... Now the task is to begin to explain their sustainability and robustness, given how difficult it must have been to achieve this record in such complex, uncertain, and interdependent environments in which individuals have continuously faced substantial incentives to behave opportunistically.

DESIGN PRINCIPLES

ILLUSTRATED BY LONG-ENDURING CPR INSTITUTIONS

1. Clearly defined boundaries

Individuals or households who have rights to withdraw resource units from the CPR must be clearly defined, as must the boundaries of the CPR itself.

2. Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions

Appropriation rules restricting time, place, technology, and/or quantity of resource units are related to local conditions and to provision rules requiring labor, material, and/or money.

3. Collective-choice arrangements

Most individuals affected by the operational rules can participate in modifying the operational rules.

4. Monitoring

Monitors, who actively audit CPR conditions and appropriator behavior, are accountable to the appropriators or are the appropriators.

5. Graduated sanctions

Appropriators who violate operational rules are likely to be assessed graduated sanctions (depending on the seriousness and context of the offense) by other appropriators, by officials accountable to these appropriators, or by both.

6. Conflict-resolution mechanisms

Appropriators and their officials have rapid access to low-cost local arenas to resolve conflicts among appropriators or between appropriators and officials.

7. Minimal recognition of rights to organize

The rights of appropriators to devise their own institutions are not challenged by external governmental authorities.

For CPRs that are parts of larger systems:

8. Nested enterprises

Appropriation, provision, monitoring, enforcement, conflict resolution, and governance activities are organized in multiple layers of nested enterprises.

THE TRAGEDIES OF INVASION, DROUGHT,

BLIND DEVELOPMENT, AND ENCLOSURE



**GEORGE
MONBIOT**
ILLUSTRATION BY
MOLLY BANG

During the long dry seasons in the far northwest of Kenya, the people of the Turkwel River keep themselves alive by feeding their goats on the pods of the acacia trees growing on its banks. Every clump of trees is controlled by a committee of elders, who decide who should be allowed to use them and for how long.

Anyone coming into the area who wants to feed his goats on the pods has to negotiate with the elders. Depending on the size of the pod crop, they will allow him in or tell him to move on. If anyone overexploits the pods or tries to browse his animals without negotiating with the elders first, he will be driven off with sticks; if he does it repeatedly, he may be killed. The acacia woods are a commons: a resource owned by many families. Like all the commons of the Turkana people, they are controlled with fierce determination.

In the 1960s and 1970s the Turkana were battered by a combination of drought and raiding by enemy tribes armed with automatic weapons. Many people came close to starvation, and the Kenyan government, the UN Development Programme, and the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization decided that something had to be done to help them. The authorities knew nothing of how the Turkana regulated access to their commons. What they saw, in the acacia forests and the grass and scrublands of the savannas, was a succession of unrelated people

moving in, taking as much as they wanted, then moving out again. It looked like a free-for-all, and the experts blamed the lack of regulation for the disappearance of the vegetation. This was, in fact, caused not by people but by drought.

The authorities decided that the only way to stop the people from overusing their resources was to settle them down, get rid of most of their animals, and encourage them to farm. On the banks of the Turkwel River they started a series of irrigation schemes, where ex-nomads could own a patch of land and grow grain. With the first drought the irrigation scheme collapsed. The immigrants reverted to the only certain means of keeping themselves alive in the savannas: herding animals. They spread along the banks and into the acacia woods.

Overwhelmed by their numbers, the elders could do nothing to keep them away from their trees. The pods and the surrounding grazing were swiftly exhausted, and people started to starve. The commons had become a free-for-all. The authorities had achieved exactly what they set out to prevent.

The overriding of commoners' rights has been taking place, often with similarly disastrous consequences, for centuries, all around the world. But in the last two decades it has greatly accelerated. The impetus for much of this change came from a paper published twenty-five years ago, whose title has become a catch phrase among developers.

In "The Tragedy of the Commons," American

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biologist Garrett Hardin argued that common property will always be destroyed, because the gain that individuals make by overexploiting it will outweigh the loss they suffer as a result of its overexploitation. He used the example of a herdsman keeping his cattle on a common pasture. With every cow the man added to his herds he would gain more than he lost; he would be one cow richer, while the community as a whole would bear the cost of the extra cow. Hardin suggested that the way to prevent this

tragedy from unfolding was to privatize or nationalize common land.¹

GARRETT HARDIN'S LEGACY

The paper, published in *Science* magazine, had an

enormous impact. It neatly encapsulated a prevailing trend of thought, and appeared to provide some of the answers to the growing problem of how to prevent starvation. For authorities such as the World Bank and Western governments it provided a rational basis for the widespread privatization of land. In Africa, among newly-independent governments looking for dramatic change, it encouraged the massive transfer of land from tribal peoples to the state or to individuals

But Hardin's paper had one critical flaw. He had assumed that individuals can be as selfish as they like in a commons, because there is no one to stop them. In reality, traditional commons are closely regulated by the people who live there. There are two elements to common property: common and property. A

commons is the property of a particular community which, like the Turkana of the Turkwel River, decides who is allowed to use it and to what extent they are allowed to exploit it.

Hardin's thesis works only where there is no ownership. The oceans, for example, possessed by no one and poorly regulated, are over-fished and polluted, as every user tries to get as much out of them as possible, and the costs of their exploitation are borne by the world as a whole. But these are not commons but free-for-alls. In a true commons, everyone watches everyone else, for they know that anyone over-exploiting a resource is exploiting them.

The effects of dismantling the commons to prevent Hardin's presumed tragedy of over-exploitation from running its course can scarcely be overstated. In Kenya, the Maasai have been cajoled into privatizing their commons; in some parts, every family now owns a small ranch. This has undercut the very basis of survival.

In the varied and changeable savannas, the only way a herder can survive is by moving. Traditionally the Maasai followed the rain across their lands, leaving an area before its resources were exhausted and returning only when it had recovered. Now, confined to a single plot, they have no alternative but to graze it until drought or overuse

brings the vegetation to an end. When their herds die, entrepreneurs move in, buy up their lands for a song and either plow them for wheat and barley, exhausting the soil within a few years, or use them as collateral for securing business loans.

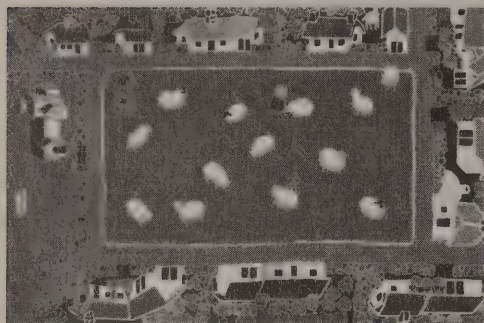
Changes in the ownership of land lie at the heart of our environmental crisis. Traditional rural communities use their commons to supply most of their needs. To keep themselves alive they have to

maintain a diversity of habitats, and within these habitats they need to protect a wide range of species, but when the commons are privatized, they pass into the hands of people whose priority is to make money. The most efficient means of making it is to select the most profitable product. As the land is no longer the sole

means of survival, but an investment that can be exchanged, the new owners can, if necessary, over-exploit it and reinvest elsewhere.

The diverse environments protected by the commons are replaced with uniform fields of grain or livestock. The displaced people move either to the overloaded cities or into new habitats, becoming poorer as they go, threatening the places they move to, sometimes displacing other commoners in turn. For human beings, as for the biosphere, the tragedy of the commons is not the tragedy of their existence but the tragedy of their disappearance. ⊕

George Monbiot is visiting professor at the University of East London, writes a column for the *Guardian*, and is the author of *Poisoned Arrows*, *Amazon Watershed*, and *No Man's Land*.



1. Garrett Hardin later qualified his thesis and apologized for using the term "commons" for unmanaged or open access commons. Nevertheless, his abstract example is still used as "proof" that enclosure or state control is needed. —PW

PLACE-BASED COMMONS

Common Pool Resources



FROM MAKING THE COMMONS WORK

Organizations

Programme for Traditional Resource Rights (TRR)/Working Group on Traditional Resource Rights (WGTRR)

c/o Oxford Centre for the Environment, Ethics, and Society, Mansfield College, University of Oxford, Oxford OX1 3TF, UK, tel/fax +44 (186) 528 4665, wgtrr.ocees@mansfield.ox.ac.uk, users.ox.ac.uk/~wgtrr/index.html#contents.

TRR researches and disseminates community handbooks, legal guides, case studies, and assemblages of precedents and principles, Information Transfer Agreements, contracts, covenants, legal and non-legal conventions, agreements, and declarations to indigenous peoples and communities trying to protect their rights to resources, including territory, traditional knowledge, plants, animals, and objects with sacred, ceremonial, or heritage values. See their website for annotated resources. WGTRR is a self-funded network established to implement the Programme.

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)

Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland, +41 (22) 798 84 00, fax +41 (22)

740 07 91, info@unrisd.org, www.unrisd.org.

UNRISD's goal is to strengthen the capacity of disadvantaged groups to influence decision-making processes and to access resources. The Institute specializes in research across countries and currently works with scholars and grassroots activists in seventy countries around the world. See their website for a list of publications. A rich and thoughtful resource.

International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP)

\$30 (sliding scale) annual membership includes quarterly Common Property Resource Digest. Indiana University, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, 513 North Park Avenue, Bloomington, IN 47408, 812/855-8082, fax 812/855-3150, iascp@indiana.edu/~iascp.

Academics working to understand and improve institutions for the management of environmental resources that are (or could be) held or used collectively by communities in developing or developed countries. We really like their journal (see page 55).

Land Tenure Center

University of Wisconsin, 1357 University Avenue, Madison, WI 53615, 608/262-3657, fax 608/262-2141, ltc-uw@facstaff.wisc.edu, www.wisc.edu/ltc/.

An open-minded university researches and educates on social structure, rural institutions, resource use, and development. Typical reports: *Land Tenure and Food Security: A Review of Concepts, Evidence, and Methods; Re-entering African-American Farmers: Recent Trends and a Policy Rationale*; and *Past and Present Land Tenure Systems in Albania: Patrilineal, Patriarchal, Family-Centered*.

CPRNet: The World Bank's Common Property Resource Management Network

1818 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20433, 202/473-8263, fax 202/676-0977 x78, lsoeftestad@worldbank.org.

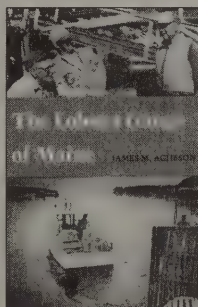
The conversation between World Bank staffers and the real world. A clearinghouse, a dialog, and a catalyst for incremental change. Still largely ignored, CPRNet could be the educational acorn for a much-improved World Bank oak. Open to anyone seriously interested in CPR management.

International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED)

3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, UK, +44 (171) 388 2117, fax +44 (171) 388 2826, iiedinfo@gn.apc.org, www.iied.org.

Promotes sustainable development through collaborative research, policy studies, consensus building, and public information. IIED focuses on improving the management of natural resources so that communities and countries of the South can upgrade their living standards without jeopardizing their resource base. Home of the Drylands Programme, which focuses on Africa. Publishes many useful papers and books, including *Custodians of the Commons: Pastoral Land Tenure in East & West Africa* by Charles Lane.

Inshore Fisheries



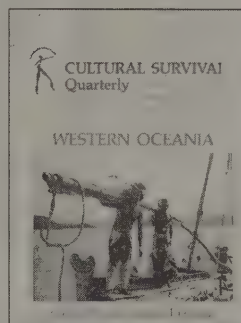
The Lobster Gangs of Maine

James M. Acheson. 1988; 181 pp. \$13.95. University Press of New England.

A classic on human ingenuity.

A Sea of Small Boats

John Cordell, ed. 1989; 418 pp. \$15 (\$18 postpaid). Cultural Survival, 96 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/441-5400, fax 617/441-5400, csinc@cs.org, www.cs.org.

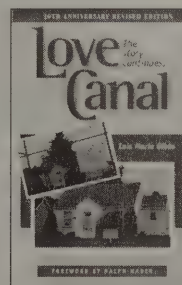


Western Oceania: Caring for the Ancestral Dream

Summer, 1991 issue of Cultural Survival Quarterly. \$5 (\$7.50 postpaid). See above.

John Cordell asks: How do non-Westerners define a commons? When do dreams matter? *Small Boats* and *Western Oceania* explore the planet's most harried commons, however viewed: the coastal fisheries. Start with *Western Oceania*.

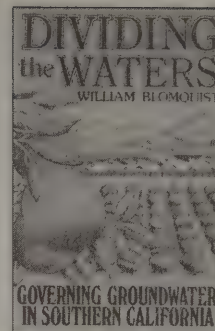
Groundwater



Love Canal

Lois Marie Gibbs. 1998; 223 pp. \$16.95. New Society Publishers, PO Box 189, 1680 Peterson Road, Gabriola Island, BC V0R 1X0, Canada, 250/247-9737, fax 250/247-7471, info@newsociety.com, www.newsociety.com.

The twenty-year update on a commons generated by toxics.



Dividing the Waters: Governing Groundwater in Southern California

William Blomquist. 1992. 416 pp. \$29.95. Institute of Contemporary Studies Press, Latham Square, 1611 Telegraph Avenue, Suite 902, Oakland, CA 94612, 800/326-0263, fax 510/238-8440, icspress@compuserve.com, www.icspress.com.

Blomquist's phrase "polycentric self-governance" may just be the key for local commons organized together for mutual benefit. Groundwater is the guru. A unique academic analysis.

Best Academic Books

Making the Commons Work: Theory, Practice and Policy

Daniel W. Bromley, General Editor. 1992; 339 pp. \$14.95 (\$18.95 postpaid). Institute for Contemporary Studies Press. See above.

Broadest and most diverse viewpoints. Case histories. Great summary by Elinor Ostrom.

Managing the Commons

John A. Baden and Douglas S. Noonan, eds. 1998; 243 pp. \$16.95. Indiana University Press.

Nostalgically Garrett Hardin. But great chapters on fisheries, public/private dilemmas, and the US Treasury.

The Question of the Commons: The Culture and Ecology of Communal Resources

Bonnie J. McCay and James M. Acheson, eds. 1987; 439 pp. \$21.95. University of Arizona Press.

Oregon Water Trust

Seth Zuckerman

For a century and a half, water law in the American West held that you could only enforce your right to water if it was working for you: irrigating a field, for instance, or supplying a subdivision. If you preferred to leave the water in the stream and let it flow to the ocean, you were wasting it, and someone else could use it in your place. Leave it there for five years, and you lost your right forever.

That notion started to crumble in 1987, when Oregon passed a law putting instream uses on a par with withdrawals. If you wanted to dedicate "your" water to the salmon and the salamanders, you could. It was as revolutionary as if forest owners were suddenly allowed to hold onto their land even if they didn't clearcut.

The nonprofit Oregon Water Trust arose to take advantage of this opportunity. It administers water rights that it leases, buys, or receives as a gift, and makes sure that its water stays in the creeks and rivers. An acre's worth of irrigation rights are worth \$500 to \$1500, making a total of \$20,000 to \$60,000 for every cubic foot per second left in the stream. Like a land trust, a water trust offers tax benefits to donors and embodies a modern incarnation of the commons, protecting natural phenomena that everybody's fish and living rivers depend on.

Even more delectably, the 1987 statute extended another well-worn principle—"first in time, first in right"—to water dedicated to the cause of fish. Framers of water law always realized that flows fluctuate from flood to drought, and gave senior rights-holders precedence over newcomers if there wasn't enough to go 'round. Under the law, the Oregon Water Trust can trump the needs of irrigators if it owns an older right.

That's exactly what happened on Sucker Creek in southwestern Oregon. Even before the Trust was formed, a landowner was willing to donate his 1857 rights to help rebuild the faltering runs of steelhead, chinook, and coho. But junior water-users upstream were taking the water before it reached his point of diversion, and quarter-mile stretches of the creek bed were dust-dry. The creek's water master had to shut off irrigators whose rights were established as early as the 1870s to get the man his water. (On Sucker Creek, as on many western streams, more water has been appropriated than exists in most years). Once the water made it to him, the landowner could dedicate it to instream use.

The Trust has since bought that right and two others on Sucker Creek, totaling 255 gallons per minute. It's entitled to defend those rights all the way to the creek's confluence with a larger stream, in this case the East Fork of the Illinois River. In practice, says the Trust's hydrologist Leslie Bach, success depends on developing a good relationship with the water masters, since they are in the field much more often than she is.

In a society so attuned to protecting property rights, this small change in the rules has given advocates of free-flowing water a significant lever in their battle for the veins of the watersheds. The Oregon Water Trust administers thirty-five water rights on seven different river basins, targeted to bolster weak populations of salmon and steelhead, and has several more in the works. Now if we could only get the US Forest Service to allow bids on timber sales from people who want to leave the trees standing... ⊕

Oregon Water Trust
111 SW Naito Parkway, Suite
404, Portland, OR 97204,
503/226-9055,
info@owt.org, www.owt.org.

THERE ARE A LOT OF DE FACTO COMMON LANDS, broadly including city edges, habitat, and lovely views. Whether they accommodate public access or not, they're beneficial to all of us. These common grounds are disappearing and with them the sense that we share the use of some lands. Both lost lands and lost senses of sharing should be a common concern, because our common lands are part of our common heritage.

Whether it's habitat, city neighborhood streets and pocket parks, or just a sense of openness, or peace, or rural feeling, open space may be the only respite from a really crowded world. All of these kinds of spaces ought to be recognized as part of our common good in this country. There are lots of ways to protect them; land trusts are one.

It's important to understand what a land trust is. There's still confusion. The "trust" aspect of land trust is not a legal term. Though there are many legal aspects to holding property, "land trust" is simply a generic term for a nonprofit land conservation organization that works with land owners to help them find ways to protect their property.

Organizations that hold land or conservation easements, or otherwise get land into some conservation-based ownership, are commonly called land trusts. These trusts do not have named beneficiaries in the same sense that a legally set up trust would have; the public is the beneficiary of land trusts. Many land trust organizations are called land conservancies or land foundations. In some states, in fact, you cannot use the term "trust" in your name unless you are a legal trust.

Conservation easements that permanently restrict the uses of a piece of land are a major land trust tool. So are land donations and strategic estate planning. Land trusts also own land outright or operate land which they own for conservation. Sometimes they work in partnership with other

organizations or negotiate a deal or acquire a piece of land and then turn it over to some stewardship organization.

The first land trust in the world, the Trustees of Preservation, was formed in 1892 in Massachusetts. Shortly after, a delegation from Britain visited the upstart colonies and were so impressed that when they went back they formed the National Trust. Our sense of property rights is, "I've got the right to keep you out unless I say you can come in," whereas the National Trust helps guard Britain's longer history of public use of private land.

DO PEOPLE TRUST LAND TRUSTS?

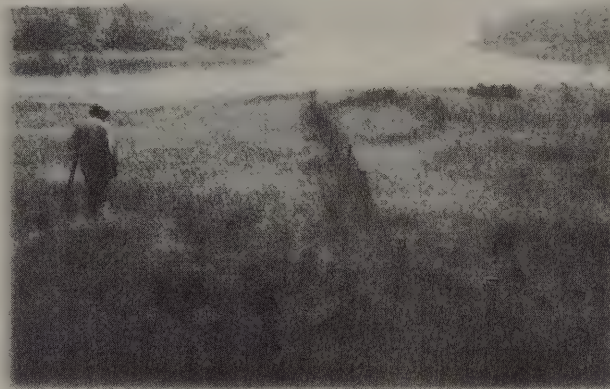
If you're the kind of person who is really suspicious of anything unknown, or who really does not want to see land protected, then obviously you won't like land trusts. More and more, though, people recognize that we need to take hold of how our land is used and counter the sprawl and all the unplanned development that we see around us.

Generally land trusts are well accepted, and even eagerly embraced, because they're private organizations and nonprofit

groups acting in the voluntary sector. They don't have the power to condemn or to impose regulations. Even if you don't believe the government should be involved in any way, shape, or form in land use, land trusts should not be a threat.

Land trusts are flourishing because people see their success. Land trusts have protected about four million acres of wetlands, ranches, farms, shoreline, forests, recreation land, and cityscapes. There are now well over a thousand land trusts.

Many land trust organizations are involved in partnerships which solve problems that no single entity can resolve on its own. Bringing more players together is a good role for a land trust. It's hard, but over time, protecting big, important acreages of land or protecting ecosystems will demand the joint



CONSERVATION EASEMENT STEWARDSHIP GUIDE (P. 43).

Good-Guy Real Estate

Jean Hocker, Land Trust Alliance President, Counsels Whole Earth on Land Trusts As Conservation-Based Commons

Photo above: To protect an easement, a steward walks the boundary lines of a property checking for encroachments from neighboring properties.





The entire view across the Potomac River from the front steps of Mount Vernon has been protected against adverse development by scenic easements donated to the National Park Service.

Farming next to houses is not easy for farmers or residents.

working out of problems. Land trusts can build partnerships, or at least further an understanding among everyone concerned about the land.

CAN OPEN MARKETS PROTECT THE COMMONS?

It's difficult to make sure that the common good is protected. It takes more than just the goodness of our hearts. Even the best-intentioned people's intentions change over time. Because the commons belongs to everybody and belongs to nobody, nobody takes responsibility unless someone takes special steps to insure that land remains in open space or in uses compatible with conservation. Guardians are needed to insure that.

If Central Park hadn't been protected, and the protection specifically spelled out a hundred years ago, the free market probably wouldn't have stayed away from that piece of land. If our national parks hadn't been established proactively, nobody would have said, "Gee, I guess we just won't build here." You have to take some steps, either by acquiring the land through a public agency or a private organization like a land trust, or by acquiring a conservation easement that prohibits certain activities but leaves the land in private ownership.

LONG-TERM SECURITY?

People ask: who is going to enforce this land trust over time? I

want my land protected today and I want to be sure that in a hundred years it will still be defended, that somebody will still be making sure that it isn't trashed. Who is going to do that? Of course, no one knows today whether any one organization will exist a hundred years from now, but the land trust movement itself is over a hundred years old, and there are organizations approaching fifty, even one hundred



HOLDING OUR GROUND (P. 43).

years. How do you know if the organization that you're dealing with is going to be one of them? You want to look carefully at the organization to see how well they're organized and whether they've adopted good standards of practice.

Long-term security is partially established by the way the document is drawn up in the first place. It starts with a sound document that will be enforceable over time. Sometimes a conservation easement can have a back-up holder, in case the first holder goes out of business. The easement should be drawn up to be perpetual. Tax

law does not allow deductions on easements that are anything less than perpetual. Sometimes people purchase a term easement, but everybody would have to understand that up-front. We advocate perpetual easements.

DO WE NEED LAND TRUST POLICE?

Learning to enforce agreements requires an accumulation of knowledge and experience. Most easement disputes are settled through negotiation; very few have ended up in the courts. That's good. The courts should be a last resort. If you need them, they're there, and the easement document spells out the terms which allow you to go to court. On the other hand, some easements have arbitration written into them.

We don't have a lot of experience with court cases yet, but when the land starts changing hands, we will. When somebody, through inheritance or purchase, becomes the owner of a piece of property on which there's an easement, that person may not share the conservation ethic that motivated the original owner to protect the land. That's when enforcement is going to become a real issue.

We don't have a land trust police, but we have standards and the recognition that easement stewardship includes monitoring the property regularly, building a long-term relationship with the landowner, and instilling a sense of pride in recognition of good stewardship. All this is designed to diminish the numbers of violations and misunderstandings. ☪

Land Trust Alliance

\$35 annual membership includes quarterly Exchange and discounts on other publications. 1319 F Street NW, Suite 501, Washington, DC 20004-1106, 202/638-4725, fax 202/638-4730, www.lta.org.

Looking longingly at a wetland about to be filled, a meadow about to be subdivided, a sunny city park about to be shadowed? Stop! Contact the **Land Trust Alliance**. It's the

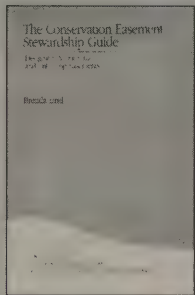
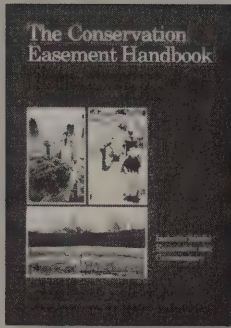
beautiful umbrella, the tent under which land trusts gather and thrive. It sponsors the Land Trust Rally, the commons for anyone and everyone yearning to know about land trust operations, land protection, and land stewardship. **LTA's** booklist runs from the most practical to the most legal to the most thoughtful. Inside the tent are the tools, services, programs, skills, and competence to do it. —PW

Land Trust Resources

Conservation Easements

The Conservation Easement Handbook: Managing Land Conservation and Historic Preservation Easement Programs
Janet Diehl, Thomas S. Barnett, et al. 1988; 269 pp. \$35. *LTA and the Trust for Public Land.*

The bible of conservation easements. Includes the 136-page *Model Conservation Easement and Historic Preservation Easement* brochure.



The Conservation Easement Stewardship Guide: Designing, Monitoring, and Enforcing Easements
Brenda Lind. 1991; 107 pp. \$16. *LTA and the Trust for New Hampshire Lands.*

Successfully negotiating a conservation easement isn't the last step in protecting a property—it's the first. Stewardship how-to.

Also from LTA:

Appraising Easements: Guidelines for Valuation of Historic and Land Conservation Easements.

Managing Conservation Easements: Sample Policies and Forms from the Land Trust Community.

Doing Deals: A Guide to Buying Land for Conservation
Trust for Public Land. 1995; 175 pp. \$25. *LTA and the Trust for Public Land.*

Written by the pros, helping a community figure what the land's really worth and the timing of funding.

Family Lands

Preserving Family Lands: Essential Tax Strategies for the Landowner and Preserving Family Lands: Book II
Stephen J. Small. 1992; 99 pp. \$9. *Book II* 1997; 109 pp. \$11.50. *Landowner Planning Center, distributed by LTA.*

Land Trusts

Starting a Land Trust: A Guide to Forming a Land Conservation Organization
1990; 175 pp. \$16. *LTA.*

Statement of Land Trust Standards and Practices: A Self-Assessment Form
1993; 15 pp. *First copy free. LTA.*

The Standards and Practices Guidebook: An Operating Manual for Land Trusts
1993; 564 pp. \$65. *LTA.*

Fundraising Essentials for Land Trusts
1995; \$25. *LTA.*

Land Use Planning: Roles for Land Trusts
1994; \$20. *LTA.*

ExpertLink: National Directory of Professionals Who Assist Land Trusts
\$23, regional books for the Northwest US and Great Lakes, \$15 each. *LTA.*

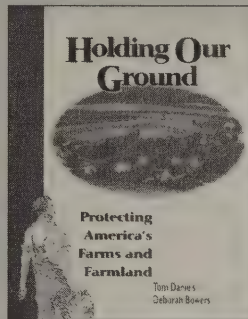
Need a land trust or thinking about it, read *Starting*. Once it's started,

memorize the *Guidebook*. If it's a community issue, study *Land Use Planning*. To make sure it's perpetual, use the self-assessment pamphlet. Rather talk than read? *ExpertLink* is organized by experts' names, states, and skills.

American Farmland Trust

\$20 annual membership includes quarterly American Farmland. 1920 N Street NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20036, 202/659-5170, fax 202/659-8339, info@farmland.org, www.farmland.org. Farmland Info. Library: www.farmlandinfo.org.

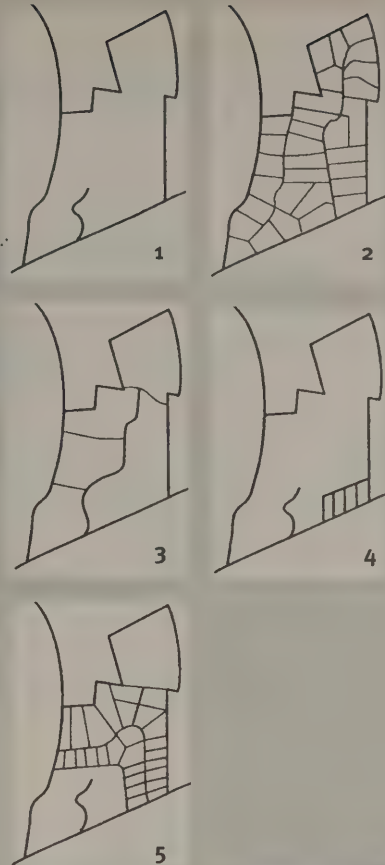
The conservation group protecting America's natural capital: its soil and food potential. A group whose multi-generational profile can only be called heroic. Through public education, policy development, and private land conservation transactions, they lovingly maneuver to preserve America's best farmlands.



Holding Our Ground: Protecting America's Farms and Farmland
Tom Daniels and Deborah Bowers. 1997; 420 pp. \$34.95. *Island Press.*

Best introductory book, with stories, actualities, help, and insight. If you are not thinking of buying a farm, you'll still learn more about what's happening to American farmland here than in almost any other book.

The Nature Conservancy
\$25 annual membership includes the bimonthly *Nature Conservancy*. 1815 North Lynn Street, Arlington, VA 22209, 703/841-5300, fax 703/841-1283, www.tnc.org.



Agricultural Zones and Permitted Development—HOLDING OUR GROUND

- Existing 100-Acre Farm.
- Existing Pattern of 5-Acre Rural Zoning.
- Large Lot of Agricultural Zoning (1 lot/25 acres).
- Area-Based Allocation Agricultural Zoning (1 dwelling/25 acres).
- Rural Cluster (1 acre minimum lot size) 60% open space preserved.

CONSERVATION PROPERTY

The Montana Land Reliance has received a conservation easement over this property. Together the Reliance and the landowner cooperate to insure that this ranch shall never be developed for non-agricultural purposes, permanently preserving scenic vistas and fish and wildlife habitat.

Montana Land Reliance
Box 355
Helena, MT 59624
(406) 443-7027

The Trust for Public Land

\$25 annual membership includes semi-annual *Land and People* and *On the Land*, and newsletters about regional land-protection projects. 116 New Montgomery Street, 4th Floor, San Francisco, CA 94105, 415/495-4014, fax 415/495-4103, mailbox@tpl.org, www.tpl.org.

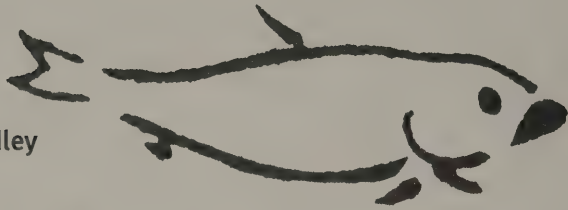
The Conservation Fund
703/525-6300.

The best. See *Whole Earth* No. 93, p. 69.

Signs posted on protected property serve to educate the public about your organization and land protection program. —THE CONSERVATION EASEMENT STEWARDSHIP GUIDE.

The Oldest Living Commons in America

Diana Hadley



To be sure, the landscapes of our national parks, national forests, and Bureau of Land Management lands are American commons, comprising an amazing forty percent of the nation's surface. These institutions for shared resources are part of the modern world, brainchildren of the Progressive Era conservation movement and New Deal political maneuvering of the 1930s. But in the mountain valleys of the

Sangre de Cristo range in northern New Mexico, you can still find vestiges of communal land systems with origins in the hydraulic societies of medieval North Africa, imported to the New World by Spanish conquistadors.

During the 1700s, Imperial Spain issued land grants and located settlers in frontier villages in strategically situated New Mexican mountain passes. An essential part of Spain's northern frontier policy, these gaunt adobe villages created buffers, hopefully blocking the access of aggressive bands of nomadic Comanche, Ute, and Apache raiders to the Río Grande and the more settled and profitable portions of the vast Spanish empire south of New Mexico. In addition to village house lots each grant had its communal *ejido* land, where the resources of forage, forest, soil, and water were shared by all members of the grant. Aside from Native American communities, the *ejido* lands of New Mexico stand with those of New England as the elders of American commons. ⊕



Enchantment and Exploitation The Life and Hard Times of a New Mexico Mountain Range

William deBuys. 1997; 394 pp. \$16.95.
University of New Mexico Press.

Mayordomo Chronicle of an Acequia in Northern New Mexico

Stanley Crawford. 1988; 231 pp. \$12.95.
University of New Mexico Press.

The Milagro Beanfield War John Nichols. 1996; 456 pp. \$12.95. Ballantine Books.

Three engaging books bring the communally based mountain village lands to life. In *Enchantment and Exploitation*, William deBuys describes the struggle of hardy Hispano mountain folk to raise subsistence crops on isolated patches of arable land and graze their livestock on tiny mountain pastures. Neglected for two centuries by both the Catholic church and Spanish government, the *norteros* participated in Penitente religious observations (a compensation for the paucity of priests) and developed an economic and social system so intensely local and communal

that men and women greeted each other as "*hermano y hermana*," brother and sister. With this highly defined sense of place came a devoted attachment to the land and an increasing distrust of outside interference.

deBuys skillfully describes the American onslaught into the Hispano commons, as car-

petbagging Anglo lawyers, land speculators, and loggers went from house to house purchasing quitclaim deeds for \$1 apiece from unsuspecting villagers. By the 1930s, villagers had sunk from communitarian self-sufficiency to dependence on the government dole. Underlying the economic decline was a decrease in the productivity of the land. According to deBuys, epidemic overgrazing, streambed downcutting, and deforestation caused erosion and made irrigation impossible. He asks: Did the land-loving Hispanos squander their resources, or can blame be placed exclusively upon avaricious Anglos or the inept management of Forest Service bureaucrats? deBuys argues that a sense of place and love for the land are not the only prerequisites to good stewardship.

Second in this triptych is Stanley Crawford's *Mayordomo*. Each spring in the arid "Blood of Christ" mountains, where water is the blood of life, *parciantes* still reopen veins in an elaborate system of irrigation canals. Cleaning and repacking the ditches under direction of a *mayordomo*, or ditch boss, is an ancient communal obligation, contracted when an ancestor of each of the members of the current ditch association received his grant from the King. Crawford's is a loving and humorous description of the ditch system, the struggle to get non-resident *parciantes* to do their share of

the work, the squabbles over delivery of water, the landscape, and above all the back-breaking work.

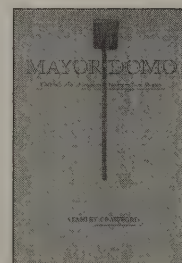
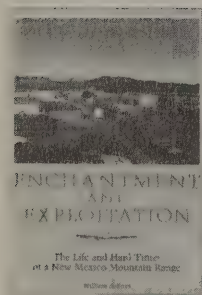
In *The Milagro Beanfield War*, novelist John Nichols presents the complexity of life in the besieged mountain villages, where folks are idle during the long winters and every resident's knowing his neighbors and their business leads to trouble. Nichols absorbs the raucous humor and fatalistic attitudes of his subjects. When Joe Mondragon taps into the waters of the *acequia madre*, the



mother ditch, to irrigate an ancestral bean field, he at once performs a symbolic act, commits a crime, and initiates an all-out war against the Anglo developers of "Miracle Valley."

Each author has been able to overcome the difficult position of an Anglo male intruder in a closed communal society and to profit from the outsider's perspective, creating broad-brush portraits of Hispano village life. deBuys is a cultural geographer and conservationist in whom his Hispano neighbors have placed great trust.

Crawford, a devoted village farmer who produces superb crops of the firmest-cloved garlics I have ever seen (woven into elegant *ristras* for the Santa Fe Farmers Market), received a unique vote of neighborly confi-





Crafting Institutions for Self-Governing Irrigation Systems

Elinor Ostrom. 1992; 111 pp. \$19.95 (\$23.95 postpaid). Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, Latham Square, 1611 Telegraph, Suite 902, Oakland, CA 94612, 800/326-0263, 717/325-5686.

Another fine book on designing the commons by the *mayordomo* of the self-governing local commons (see page 36). —PW

“ A self-governing irrigation system is the prime example of a public enterprise in which a segment of society governs itself for itself. By agreeing together how water will be apportioned, how responsibilities for maintaining an irrigation system will be allotted, and how such a framework of rules will be enforced and amended to meet changing conditions, water suppliers and users can craft social and political institutions that increase the responsiveness, efficiency, and self-sustaining profitability of irrigation projects.

Crafting Institutions

for
Self-Governing
Irrigation Systems

Elinor Ostrom

“ In 1435, eighty-four irrigators served by two inter-related canals in Valencia gathered at the monastery of St. Francis to draw up and approve formal regula-

tions to specify who had rights to water from these canals, how the water would be shared in good and bad years, and how maintenance responsibilities would be shared. The modern *huerta* system of Valencia, composed of these plus six additional canals, now serves 16,000 hectares and 15,000 farmers. The right to water inheres in the land itself and cannot be bought and sold independently of the land. Water rights are proportionate to the amount of land owned, as are obligations to contribute to the cost of monitoring and maintenance activities.

dence with his election to the respected position of *mayordomo*. And Nichols's novel, now an old standby, still brings the ongoing struggle of Nuevo Mexicanos to retain control of their ancestral lands to the attention of the country. A delightful visit to an older, but not gentler, communal way of life. —DH

“ The lands of the *ejido* were open to all of the people of all the villages on the grant to use as they saw fit. On the Las Trampas Grant, these lands ranged from the dense spruce and fir forests on the slopes of 12,200-foot Trampas Peak, down through mid-altitude stands of ponderosa pine, and finally to the rough, semi-arid hills of the piñon-juniper woodland....The best firewood lay at one elevation, the best house timbers at another, and the location of good grazing varied with altitude and with season. Overall, there was not enough of any single resource to support a group for long. In order to eke out a living the people of the Las Trampas Grant had to make full use of every available resource, and they had to cooperate with each other to do it. Only by sharing their goods and their labor could so isolated a people, possessing so few tools, manage to survive in as unforgiving an environment as the southern Sangres. —ENCHANTMENT AND EXPLORATION

“ Orlando pulls the truck over onto the shoulder and we unload our tools, push through the steel footpath gate and cross a small steel bridge over the dry

channel of the Acequia de los Cerritos, which runs along the edge of the road through here. Just inside the fence lies Harold's impressive scrap pile of huge culverts, catwalks, pipes, gates, and other pieces of steel acquired from the Los Alamos salvage yard. We set off down through the orchard toward the river. As long as you have a shovel in hand (or pitchfork or rake) local custom gives you the right to walk through anyone's property on ditch business. I consider Los Cerritos to be if not enemy territory then at least potentially hostile, and I make a point of keeping on friendly terms with the *mayordomo* of the Acequia de los Cerritos and particularly with a commissioner who lives two places up from our dam, of whom I am fond anyway, Alberto Manzanares. Between our dam and the highway, at which point Acequia de la Jara territory begins, you might say, our ditch crosses the bottomlands of perhaps a dozen properties through Los Cerritos, only one of which is served by our ditch. The walk always seems long down through Harold Castillo's apple orchard, across the roughly disked ground, perhaps a quarter of a mile, down to the cottonwoods that mark the end of his property and where the out ditch channel splits off from the river course.

The area turns out to be a mess. At the *desague* beavers have cut down two large cottonwoods, felling them right across the water. —MAYORDOMO

“ He did everything possible to probe and expose the hypocritical rhetoric surrounding the Indian Creek Dam—the state engineer's pronouncement, for example, that it was “the only way to save a dying culture.” He tried to demonstrate how the conservancy district and the dam was just one more component of the economic and sociological machinery which for a long time had been driving local small farmers off their land and out of Chamisa County. He quoted figures about per capita income and median incomes; he outlined what the real costs of the dam could balloon into, and broke those costs down to an amount per acre, per year, per person, regardless of that person's wealth. He explained how the proposed Ladd Devine Miracle Valley project would drive their land values sky high, and what that would do to their taxes. He told them that when middle-class or wealthy people from other states bought expensive vacation homes up in the canyon or around the golf course on the subdivided west side, they would want a school for their children, sewage systems, a cleaner water supply, and for that all the people of Milagro would have to pay. And once the ski valley was completed there would be pressure to raise taxes for a better road up to it. And Bloom did his best to question the myth that this development would bring wealth to every inhabitant, and jobs and security for all. —MILAGRO BEANFIELD WAR

Tales from Wildlands and the Commons

Animal Equity in Kruger Park

Wildlands are a de facto commons when humans can't get to them or lack the tools to dramatically change their character. With better guns and increased access by hunters, pastoralists, and farmers, the de facto commons must become a consciously bounded landscape with careful rules of exclusion and limited use. South Africa's Kruger National Park is a fine example. It is home to four hundred animals, the largest surviving population of endangered African wild dogs, as well as herds galore of zebra, wildebeest, kudu, impala, and buffalo. The big herbivores feed very charismatic lions.

The new commons, the park itself, is a place with two goals: tourism and biodiversity. There are relatively few external threats. Commons debates focus on monitoring and working rules to manage tourists. The working rules of Kruger's apparently Eden-like commons

could ironically undo all the good work that preceded them.

Since the 1930s, Kruger Park has favored the large grass-eaters (the wildebeest and zebras) which, in turn, feed the lions and the spotted hyenas who, in turn, bring in the tourist dollars. Park management has manipulated the park commons to favor the large herbivores by constructing watering holes. The smaller predators—cheetahs, brown hyenas, and wild dogs—are bullied out by lions who even eat their young. The brown hyena, a more delicate and secretive hyena, has completely disappeared from the park. The conflict: should there be a variety of predators? Or an assured opportunity for tourists to always see the kings and queens of beasts and their "evil" Disney competitor, the spotted hyena?

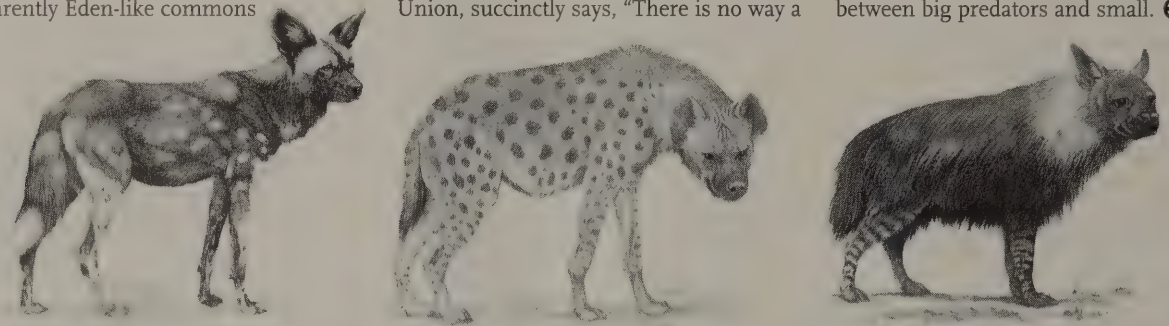
The conflict seems intractable. Rosie Woodroffe, who wrote the Wild Dog Action Plan for the World Conservation Union, succinctly says, "There is no way a

national park can control lions and hyenas to benefit wild dogs. The lions are real money spinners." Removing or reconfiguring the spacing of the watering holes seems touristically impossible. So wild dog conservationist biologists have gone on a quest. Are there any new wild areas which can favor more mammals in better harmony? A commons not skewed to showcase the big cats?

There is not much unclaimed land left in South Africa. The only "new wild areas" emerging in South Africa (and Zimbabwe) are game ranches set up for sport shooting. Since one attraction is shooting lions, sport ranches may be the only commons that can nurture the wild dog. Conservationists now debate: better a commons with a few human hunters than too many lions and hyenas pampered for tourists? Conservationists and sport-hunting outfits will hammer out new working rules for more equity between big predators and small. ⊕

BASED ON
SCIENCE NEWS,
3 JANUARY
1998

The wild dog, spotted hyena, and brown hyena — A FIELD GUIDE TO THE MAMMALS OF AFRICA (Collins, out of print).



HELMUT DILLER

Changing Knowledge: Dynamic Commons and Adaptive Management in the Swiss Alps

By the late 1800s, red deer, roe deer, ibex, and chamois, and their natural predator, the wolf, had been driven to extinction in the Swiss Alps. Hunters and goats had driven them from the "wild" commons. In the 1910s and

1920s, the deer and ibex were re-introduced and hunting prohibited. Harsh winters sunk their populations. Mild winters supported population growth. Hunters in alpine Italy, Germany, and Austria wanted more sport and began to feed deer during the winters. The populations—without wolves and without winter starvation—have exploded.

The "new" ecosystem influenced the life of the Alpine trees; trees are especially important because they protect houses and roads from avalanches and landslides.

Over the past decades, a decline in alpine trees had been blamed on atmospheric pollution. Renzo Motta brought news. In the Gran Bosco di Salbertrand National Park in Piedmont, he studied tree rings on the older trees. He matched culling deer and tree ring growth and found that healthy tree years were synchronous with years of deer culling. Poor tree years reflected deer populations with

mild winters or feeding but no culling. The abundance of deer prevented regeneration of the young saplings. Even some older trees may be dying from harm caused by deer tree-use. The deer strip and eat bark in winter, gouge trees with their antlers to mark territory, or use them for rubbing off the velvet on newly formed antlers.

This new information has changed the working rules of the commons. After much conversation about conservation, managers and citizens reflect more holistically on their actions within the ecosystem. What new working rules should be implemented to give the trees as much a chance to regenerate and survive as the once-extirpated deer and ibex? Stop feeding? Allow more hunting? Fence out forest areas? Re-introduce the wolf! Pray for harsh winters? Good conversation means management can be creative and adapt. ⊕

BASED ON
SCIENCE NEWS,
11 APRIL 1998

Best Academic Books

Village Voices, Forest Choices: Joint Forest Management in India

Mark Poffenberger and Betsy McGean. 1996; 356 pp. \$14.95. Oxford University Press.

In India, local empowerment, changes in attitudes, and institutional reform can save the forests. "Development" is the wrong paradigm.

Agriculture, Foraging and Wildlife Resource Use in Africa: Cultural and Political Dynamics in the Zambesi Valley

Richard Hasler. 1996; 208 pp. \$93.50. Kegan Paul Intl.

Facing Kirinyaga: A Social History of Forest Commons in Southern Mount Kenya

Alfonso Peter Castro. 1995; 152 pp. \$29.95. Intermediate Technology Publications.

In the Dust of Kilimanjaro

David Western. 1997; 297 pp. \$24.95. Island Press.

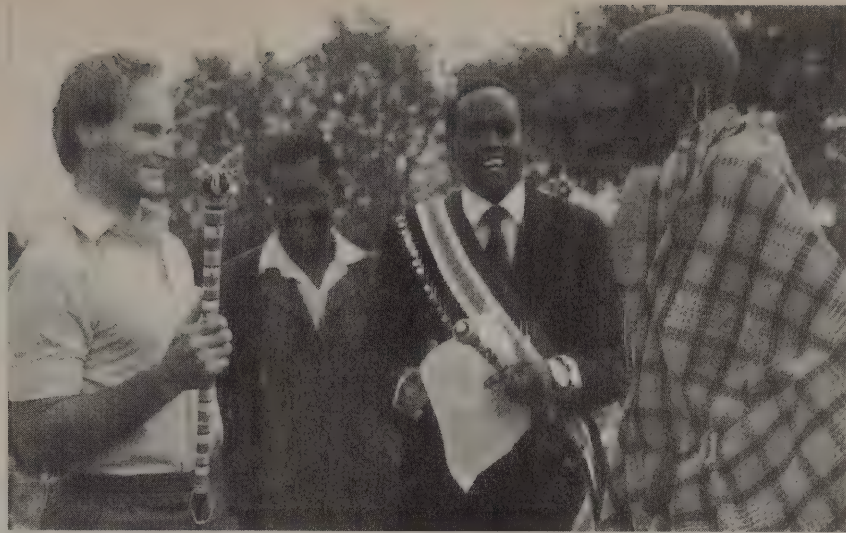
There are very few individuals in the twentieth century who have worked as long and as hard to create a commons for both humans and wildlife as David Western. David (now Director of Kenyan Wildlife Services) unveils his life from his Tanganyikan childhood to the end of the 1980s. In this, one of the best eco-autobiographies ever penned, two crucial events frame the book. First, David describes navigating between friends and enemies, white and Maasai, in order to design a viable balance among endangered rhinos, Maasai pastoralists, Amboseli Game Park's watering holes, tourists, and bureaucrats. Second, he rides the decision-making rapids with local government officials, animal rights groups, opportunistic environmental groups, talking-head experts, villagers, poachers, and his love of elephants, in the ongoing attempt to control a vicious global trade in ivory and to design the best possible working rules for elephant conservation. His descriptions, from a hair-raising plane flight in search of the pygmy elephant to the board rooms of the Ivory Trade Group, have never been surpassed in novels or histories for their clarity, detail, honesty, and laconic style.

The coexistence of large mammals and humans has always been problematic. *In the Dust* speaks with the voice of an honorable civic leader teaching, persevering, joyful with creatures large and small; this is a participant voice, thoughtful as few have been, about the hard-edged wonders of Africa. —PW

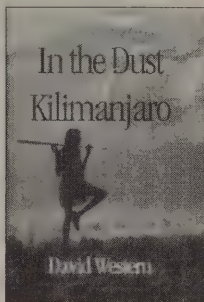
“My father, Arthur Cyril Western, saw to it that Martin and I learned to hunt at an early age. Strong-headed and adventurous, he left England for India in his teens, drawn by stories of tiger hunting, pig-sticking, and the wilds of the Himalayas. He joined the Indian army as a passport to adventure and served an eight-year stint in the Third Hussars, a cavalry regiment famous for its Gurkha....“I arrived in Africa by chance,” he loved to tell us, “because some dozy war bloke couldn't tell the difference between Hindustani and Kiswahili and sent me to Kenya by mistake.”

“My first trip with Sindiyo to resolve one of his many crises taught me a great deal about how to handle conflict in Maasai style, through dialogue and consensus.

We drove up to a settlement at the base of Il Marishari Hill, where a leopard



A Maasai elder awards me an orinka, a ceremonial stick of authority, as John Marinka [Ogulului Group Ranch secretary] looks on.



had killed several goats. A large and agitated group of elders came out to greet us. Sindiyo shook hands with each of them. “I'm here to listen,” he told them with a genial smile. The elders squatted in a circle flanking Sindiyo, exchanging pleasantries and expressing their appreciation of his interest.

Before long their geniality turned to anger as they harangued him about the leopard....

Sindiyo's quiet, firm diplomacy was a lesson in patience and perseverance. Time is not a limiting commodity among the Maasai. Discussion, trust, and consensus are everything. Every view is voiced, carefully weighed, and finally arbitrated among the elders. And if one thing weighed heavily on their minds in 1968, it was fear of losing Amboseli to wildlife.

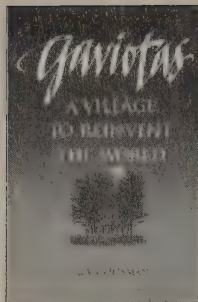
“The possibility exists that sustainability in a single location is an illusion, a romantic ideal made wholly unattainable by the tremendous flux in cultures, populations, economies, and land-use practices. If this turns out to be true, there will be all the more reason to view sustainability in global and generational terms. Humans will need to think big to exploit the niches opened up by the continually changing modes and shifting centers of production. In this event, conservationists will have to learn how to deal with moving targets of opportunity and threat.

“I squatted behind the three-foot-high net made of forest vines and listened to the dogs yelping and the women and children whooping as they drove their quarry toward the nets. How long would



the Pygmies and the forest survive the consumer world, I wondered. I had seen the old Swahili hunters carrying muzzle-loaders driven out by poaching gangs heavily armed with modern assault weapons; the Bushmen in the Kalahari give up their hunter-gather existence to become settled ranchers and farmers; the Maasai abandon their nomadic traditions to fence and ranch the savannas. And now, deep in the Ituri, the Pygmies' ancient lifestyle was dying out as they became hired hunters for the agriculturists pushing deeper into the forest every year. How long before the Ituri Forest is hacked down by the advancing fields and villages? For a moment I was lost in troubling memories and dark thoughts about the future.

Having shot my first wart-hog at age thirteen, I lost the trigger itch and gave up plans to become a big-game hunter.



Gaviotas A Village to Reinvent the World

Alan Weisman. 1998; 231 pp.
\$22.95. Chelsea Green Publishing
Company, PO Box 428, White
River Junction, VT 05001,
802/295-6300,
fax 802/295-6444.

Gaviotas is an experimental settlement in the bleak interior of Columbia where founder Paolo Lugari and an amazing band of engineers, artisans, ex-urban

street children and Guahibo Indians set out in 1971 to create a sustainable community in one of the most hostile living environments in South America. Gaviotas has drawn attention from sustainable development visionaries from around the world. Gabriel García Márquez called Paolo Lugari "the inventor of the world."

Veteran journalist Alan Weisman has written a gem of a study of the contentious history of a social and engineering experiment marked by enormous courage and creativity. Don't miss this one. —Michael Lerner

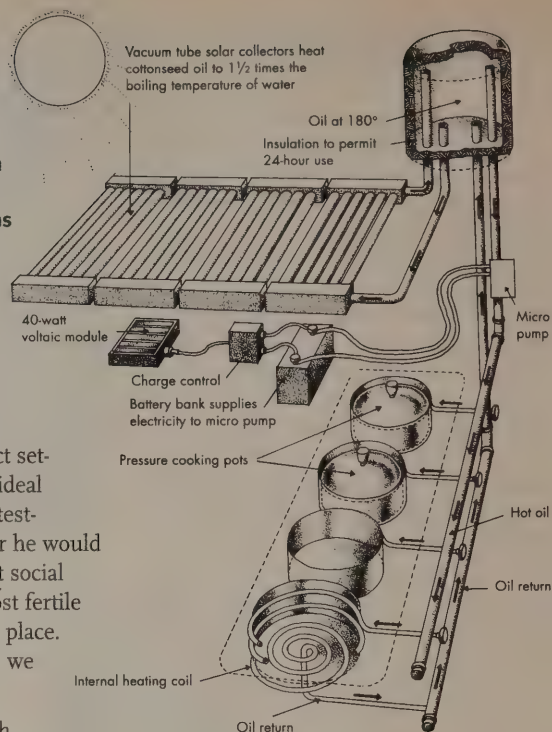
Weisman follows Gaviotas through Colombia's growing political and economic strife; confrontations with the paramilitary, narcotics traffickers and guerrillas; and finally the discovery of significant petroleum reserves in Colombia, bringing an end to the solar era. When its funding dries up, Gaviotas changes tack, focusing less on gizmos and more on living systems. They build an industry around the resin-producing Caribbean pines fortuitously planted years ago at

Gaviotas's founding, and watch a savanna become a forest once again.

What sets Gaviotas apart is an emphasis on *doing*. Engineers build as much as they plan. Teams from Gaviotas developed, fabricated and installed super-efficient well pumps and solar systems throughout the country, while experimenting a bit with social structures at home. —Carol Steinfeld

“The llanos were a perfect setting, he decided, to design an ideal civilization for the planet's fastest-filling region: the tropics. Later he would tell everyone: "They always put social experiments in the easiest, most fertile places. We wanted the hardest place. We figured if we could it here, we could do it anywhere."

“Paolo took a deep breath. "It's one thing to sell them windmills," he said. "It's another to replicate the spirit of Gaviotas somewhere else. How can we sell that? The governments of Thailand and all those places think in terms of programs. We don't have programs. Gaviotas is a sum of occurrences born out of chaos. Gaviotas is the Uncertainty Principle. It's a place where chance can incubate, where cooperation replaces competition.”



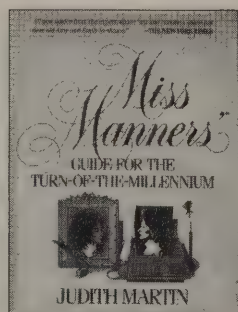
“Civilization,” Paolo Lugari likes to observe, “has been a permanent dialogue between human beings and water.”

“It's very romantic to build out of local natural materials, but it's dumb to be purists all the time. And impractical. The future will need nature *and* technology. We can't make solar panels out of whole-wheat bread.”

Miss Manners' Guide to the Turn-of-the-Millennium

Judith Martin; 1990; 742 pp. \$ 17.
Simon & Schuster.

In the hands of Ms. Martin, etiquette is no longer a ladder for social climbers or a bludgeon for snobs; it's a tool for transforming ourselves and our society into something nobler, by bringing the ideals of mutual respect, dignity, and equality back into our everyday lives by the way we teach each other. And Ms. Martin is one of the wittiest writers of our time; this may be the only etiquette book you'll ever stay up all night to read.



Out of print but well worth seeking is her slim *Common Courtesy*. Ms. Martin here sets aside her Miss Manners mask (but not, fortunately, her brilliant wit) and gives us a mind-opening essay on the role of etiquette in a democratic society. —Scott Marley

“Many forms of etiquette are employed exactly to disguise those antipathies that arise from irreconcilable differences, in order to prevent mayhem. When I was president of a school board, a member with whom I disagreed on every possible educational issue suggested that we could resolve our differences if the trustees all went off on retreat and go to know one another better. "You don't understand," I had to tell him. "The only reason I haven't murdered you is that I really don't know you all that well, so I feel I have to give you the benefit of the doubt.

Do you want to remove that doubt?" The reason that diplomacy is so stilted is that its purpose is to head off the most natural social relation between countries in economic or ideological conflict, namely war.

—COMMON COURTESY

“The lack of agreement about man-

ners results in an anger-ridden, chaotic society, where each trivial act is interpreted as a revelation of the moral philosophy of an individual actor, who is left standing there naked in his mores. We must standardize American manners, not only to complete Mr. Jefferson's unfortunately side-tracked project of developing a democratic etiquette, but to make order of current chaos and to relieve people of the burden of developing and defending individual choices in the most common, everyday manners.

—COMMON COURTESY

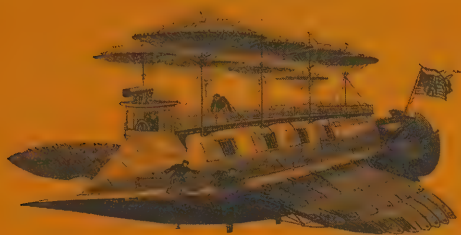
“Dear Miss Manners:

What is the correct response when your pregnant friends insist on showing you the photographs of their sonograms? This has happened to me three times, and I somehow feel that saying: "Oh, how cute" is inappropriate. Any suggestions!

Gentle Reader:

None better than "Oh, how cute." Miss Manners presents her compliments to you. —TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM

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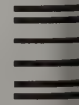
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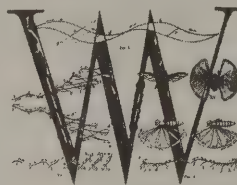
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The Flourishing Commons

In 1984, Gary Snyder and Lee did a big public event in San Francisco called "Anarchy, Buddhism and Political Economy." Lee had his first, not last, out-of-body experience there. "I literally left my body. I'd never done this before. Floating around in my mind, up there; and I turned to Gary and said, 'Gary, can you carry on?' He sort of looked puzzled at me. I finally came back down to myself. This was part of how I began thinking about re-imagining the commons." From his disembodied state, with a more free-spirited and crazy wisdom than any other of our contributors, Lee posed two questions: What is the richness that makes the commons so attractive (Lee would say "gorgeous")? What is the deep heart of the commons? As Lee travels with his teachers and friends—Ivan Illich, Paul Goodman, and Gary Snyder—on a collaged conversation across years and geography, the essence of the commons emerges as just that: a never-ending dialog, a conversation on freedom, paradise, well-being, and inventiveness. —PW

Part 1:



What
is the
Commons?

Lee: In one of his essays Ivan Illich begins with that classic definition of the commons as the space outside of the threshold, outside the front of the house and this side of the wilderness—

Ivan Illich: [To think the commons, we must consider] the reconquest of the right to live in self-limiting communities that each treasure their own mode of subsistence. Pressed, I would call this project the recovery of commons. Commons, in custom and law, refers to a kind of space which is fundamentally different from the space of which most ecologists speak. Biologists speak of habitats and economists of a receptacle containing resources and opportunities. The public environment is opposed to the private home. Both are not what "commons" means.

Commons are cultural spaces that lie beyond my threshold and this side of wilderness. Custom defines the different usefulness of commons for each one. The commons are porous. The same spot for different purposes can be used by different people. And above all, custom protects the commons.

The commons are not community resources; the commons become a resource only when the Lord [sic] or the community encloses them. Enclosure transmogrifies the commons into a resource for the extraction, production or circulation of commodities. Commons are as vernacular as vernacular speech. I am not suggesting that it is possible to re-create the old commons. But lacking

Disembodied Conversations
by Lee Swenson, with Gary Snyder and friends

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MAX ERNST



"But, darling, many very successful young revolutionaries—our own Thomas Jefferson among them—dressed for dinner."

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1971 WILLIAM HAMILTON FROM CARTOONBANK.COM. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

any better analogy I speak of the recovery of the commons, to indicate how, at least conceptually, we could move beyond our sacred cows.

Truly subsistence-oriented action transcends economic space, it reconstitutes the commons. This is as true for speech that recovers common language as for action which recovers commons from the environment.

Lee: Ivan always goes back to the real physical constraints of the commons. That it has a certain size. That it is a certain thing. The commons isn't everything. Everything isn't the commons. It had a certain kind of definition; certain kinds of fields and certain kinds of situations and customs have to build up around it. That's where it takes time and depth. That's where he links to Gary.

Gary Snyder: I'm glad you are taking all this on again. It's a great set of dilemmas and ideas to work with, that put the global right in the face of the local.

First: I like to make the distinction, as Elinor Ostrom in *Governing the Commons* does, between Common Pool Resources, CPR, and The Commons as shared physical land or water areas, non-mobile resources, basically land. "The Bioregion" is our most sophisticated way of locating the Commons in its variations, on earth. Bioregionalism is among other things a method of Commons thinking. The "Watershed" is the most useful spatial designation within which to practice

management both natural and human, and the smallest useful subdivision of a Bioregion. A watershed is often virtually equivalent to an ecosystem. A Watershed is, of itself (as it goes through both private and public holdings) a type of CPR.

CPRs exist by virtue of the inherent difficulty there is in privatizing them. The Commons used to exist in part because of the inherent difficulty in

farming or settling the hinterlands (thus: deserts, alpine zones, deep forests, end up being Public Land — our genuine American Commons.)

CPRs:

Material — air, water, oceans, the fertility of the soil, and the electromagnetic spectrum...

The Living-being commons — wildlife, fisheries, biodiversity, ecosystems, organizational protocols. Deep Ecology is the philosophy of making common cause with all living beings...

PLUS

psycho-cultural — the human imagination and its archetypes
bio-cultural — language itself
biological — the gene pool
spatial — silence etc., public amenities

cultural — the knowledge and lore of the culture, "intellectual properties"
international/cultural — the world body of myth and folktale

SO THEN:

WE MUST TRY NOT TO CONFUSE the vernacular, place- and culture-based management of CPRs by living communities using traditional knowledges, — i.e. sustainable subsistence economies

WITH

the Bureaucratic management and its endless meetings or "data presentations" or thousands of pages of "Alternatives" as done by Nation-States on behalf of their multi-national clients.

There are three management spheres: 1) local vernacular manage-

ment 2) State and Corporation Management (which is generally not sustainable) 3) A future sustainable management which involves both the local and the global perspectives.

MANAGING THE COMMONS IS HARD BORING WORK WITH MANY MEETINGS.

Also, it's worth it.

Part 2: Imagination Must Dwell In the Heart of the Commons



Lee: We differ here from Garrett

Hardin's "The Tragedy of the Commons." We're looking at it totally from the other point of view. In a sense it's not a tragedy but it's the place in which we really flourish.

In the late 1940s, Paul Goodman wrote "Kafka's Prayer," which is Kafka's struggle with what is paradise, the idea of paradise. Goodman concludes that paradise is really what growth, the renewal of life, is about. Growth is the free use of your being. For the commons to flourish, I keep thinking (since 1961 to be exact) about growth and this place of free action—

Goodman: A free society [or commons] cannot be the substitution of a "new order" for the old order; it is the extension of spheres of free action until they make up most of the social life.

Lee: I went to Paris right after May '68 and ran into all these kids who said, "If we only had ten more machine guns we would have won." It was a very exciting, dramatic thing but, as Danny Cohn-Bendit said, the dead hand of the past, came down and the movement moved back into their Marxist dialog of seizure of power. All the imagination left. How do you keep your imagination alive and flourishing so that you do not rely on passive language, passive imagination, but you keep an active imagination?

Martin Buber has a beautiful image in which he says the revolution isn't just a spark of explosion but it really is each day adding on, adding

SOURCES FOR QUOTATIONS:
IVAN ILLICH FROM "ECO-PAEDAGOGICS AND THE COMMONS." 1983, UNPUBLISHED;
GARY SNYDER FROM SERENDIPITOUS EMAIL TO WHOLE EARTH, JUNE 1998;
PAUL GOODMAN FROM DRAWING THE LINE;
ALBERT CAMUS FROM NEITHER VICTIMS OR EXECUTIONERS; I CHING FROM THE COMPLETE I CHING. ALFRED HUANG, TRANS. 1998; 512 PP. \$30. INNER TRADITIONS, 802/767-3174.

on, expanding, filling in. That's where I understood that daily life is the revolution, the way that you recover the commons. I began realizing that what we needed was enough experience in everyday life to get to this point. We needed to keep creating that free action in front of us. This was my idea of community and the commons all mixing together.

Albert Camus: Let us suppose that certain individuals resolve that they will consistently oppose to power, the force of example; to authority, exhortation; to insult, friendly reasoning; to trickery, simple honor. Let us suppose they refuse all the advantages of present-day society and accept only the duties and obligations which bind them to other[s]....Then I say that such [individuals] would be acting not as Utopians but as honest realists.



They would be preparing the future and at the same time knocking down a few walls which imprison us today....Who can fail to see the positively dazzling realism of such behavior.

Lee: You really have to think about that and you have to be willing to stand in the storm of that. I was very involved in the history and the creation of nonviolence (as opposed to pacifism) which came through the whole Gandhian flow of the idea that you're really willing to be in conflict, that what nonviolence is really about is raising the level of conflict until creativity comes out and something else happens.

Karl Polanyi in *The Great Transformation* takes it back to the idea that

once you enclose the commons, you destroy this non-monetary, free space that people live in, this place of common sharing and custom. He said the response to that is that you get all "isms." You get capitalism, anarchism, socialism, communism. Once you invade and destroy the commons you are always working in reaction. All of the isms are reactions. You force everybody into modernized poverty.

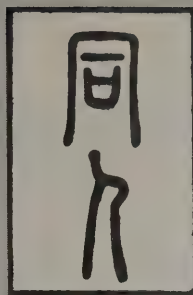
What I kept trying to think about is: how do you not react? How do you come out of it creating an idea of imagination and freedom rather than one out of reaction and fear? I'm always trying to re-think how you don't do these things out of negativity. I keep coming back—imagination and freedom thrive in dialog with one another. Gandhi said that

by nature he was cooperative but he could not acquiesce to a condition that made it impossible to cooperate.

Goodman: The defining property of free political action is potential unanimity, drawing on common nature and undercutting the conflict of interests....The moral question is

not whether men are "good enough" for a type of social organization, but whether the type of organization is useful to develop the potentialities of intelligence, grace and freedom in people.

I Ching (Seeking Harmony, Tong Ren): There is no absolute sameness....Obtaining harmony...is seeking common ground on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones. *Tong Ren* teaches us that the wise classify people according to their natures, not for the purpose of treating them differently, but to seek common ground. If there is common ground, each one is able to act in harmony with the others.... ☯



Tong Ren



Seeking Harmony

Richard Wilhelm translates *Tong Ren* as *Fellowship with Man*. In Chinese, *tong* means similar, alike, the same. *Ren* means person or people, [the commoners]. When put together as a unit, it means to treat people alike.

The ideograph of *tong* consists of three parts. The first part looks like an upright rectangle without the bottom line, symbolizing a door frame or a house. Within the house, there is a single horizontal stroke representing the number one. Underneath there is a little square symbolizing a mouth. In ancient China, people were counted by mouths. For instance, if someone wanted to know how many people there were in your family, they would ask "How many mouths are there in your family?" The three parts of the ideograph come together to depict a group of people gathered together as a single unit. Here, the mouth indicates that they are thinking or speaking as one. The Chinese can feel the harmony in the group. The second character suggests a person or collective of people standing.

Seeking harmony should be done with absolute unselfishness and among the majority. This was the ancient lofty ideal of a world of harmony. Seeking harmony among people is *tong ren yu ye*. *Yu* means at, in, or among. And *ye* is the place beyond the town limits [re: the commons]. Most English translations give *ye* as "the opens." [Fellowship in the opens succeeds: no secrets, ambush, trickery, no rude forcing, or hints of revenge.]

However, *ye* also means the folk or the commoners or the people as contrasted with government or government officials. Leadership in the commons is not by position but by character. Different leaders serve different moments in the commons life. The inner trigram means clarity; the outer, strength.

MODIFIED FROM *THE COMPLETE I CHING* (SEE OPPOSITE)

When you think of Lee, you think in clusters, clusters of wonderful people. Start with his kids or his literary/political/philosophical/artistic web or or. He co-runs the Institute for the Study of Natural and Cultural Resources with

Vijaya Nagarajan (his wife), and directed the Farallones Institute and the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence. In fact, Lee himself is many natural resources (e.g., generosity) that I always seek, a field of wells for ideas on creative change. —PW



Commons on Wheels

Lyssa Mudd

after they released the bikes, the yellow cycles became a celebrated feature of Portland's urban landscape. Calls flooded in from groups around the country wanting to duplicate the program. Everyone

Project, says that community bike projects require a shift in public consciousness—from private to community “ownership,” from consuming to using.

“Perhaps we should adapt a more American version of a community bike program, with controlled sign-out and deposit points,” mused Owen Robinson, the Eagle Scout who created an orange bike program in Syracuse that went the way of Portland's original efforts. “The spirit wouldn't be the same, but maybe we've asked too much of the honor system.” Indeed, some of the free bike projects originally thwarted by thieves have been reinvented in a slightly less idealistic vein.

In Minneapolis and Saint Paul, for example, the bikes are now checked out from hubs—bookstores and natural foods stores, mostly—where riders sign a waiver (freeing the Yellow Bike Coalition from liability) and put down a \$10 refundable deposit in exchange for a Yellow Bike Card and a key. Copenhagen's white bikes work similarly: the 1,800 specially designed bikes can be checked out from shelters around the city for a small deposit. Police issue a citation to anyone who takes a white bike outside the limits of the city center. In small, limited environments, like a Dutch national park and Lawrence Livermore Labs near San Francisco, free bikes work. Sprawling cities make oversight and maintenance much more difficult. Free communi-

ty bike programs aren't truly free; they require money and time to keep the bikes rideable and available.

Despite all this, Portland's program has been resurrected. This time the organizers are expecting thieves, but they are also taking steps to discourage them; many of the new bikes have welded parts and women's frames—the theory being that most thieves are men who would rather not be seen riding a girlish bike. The program is well on its way to reaching a critical mass of 1,000 bikes, a number which the organizers hope will keep the bikes visible and useful in the city, even after the thieves have taken their toll. The Community Cycling Center, which teaches bicycle safety and repair to kids, oversees the maintenance of the bikes. More volunteers working on the project means more guardians for the bikes and greater community involvement. The Yellow Bike Project, like other community bike programs, may turn out to be an experiment not only in trust, but in adapting an urban commons on wheels to a culture short on trust. ⊕



VINCE RADOSTITZ

Stan Jackson, of Community Cycling Center, with some of Portland's yellow bikes.

FREE COMMUNITY BIKE PROGRAMS seem radically simple: people use bikes rather than own them. Here's how they work: take old, beat-up bikes, fix them so they run, and paint them, handles to spokes, one bright color. Let them loose onto the streets with the simple instructions to use this bike at your own risk and leave it in a public place for the next rider. It all starts with the idea that it's possible to create an urban commons, that people are trustworthy and community-

minded, and that shared resources promote co-operation. The programs are also meant to encourage healthy, alternative means of transportation, and to save old bikes from premature deaths at the dump.

The US experiment with free bikes originated in Portland, Oregon. Joe Keating and Thomas O'Keefe of the United Community Action Network started the Yellow Bike Program after watching a documentary on Amsterdam, where a similar program had been in place for years. Immediately

from tourists to homeless people to business executives took them for a spin. The press lauded the experiment and proclaimed that trust and community spirit were alive and well in America.

But, as a Portland police officer remarked, “It didn't take people long to figure out that a free bike is just a free bike.” Out of hundreds of yellow bikes, almost all were stolen, vandalized, or used well beyond repair. They sat abandoned in garages and backyards, or rusting at the bottom of local waterways. One made it as far as Spokane. The program ground to a halt, as did many other community bike efforts, including Amsterdam's.

Maybe treating bikes as shared resources was too radical a proposition. Unlike park benches, streets, sidewalks, and playgrounds, bicycles are small, mobile, and easily forgotten in backyards and vacant lots. And they look like personal property, even when thoroughly coated with yellow paint. Arif Khan, the current coordinator of Portland's Yellow Bike



Portland Yellow Bike Program

2047 NE Alberta, Portland, OR 97211, 503/280-9648, fax 503/288-1812, yellow-bikes@hotmail.com, www.cz.com/ybp.

The Yellow Bike Coalition

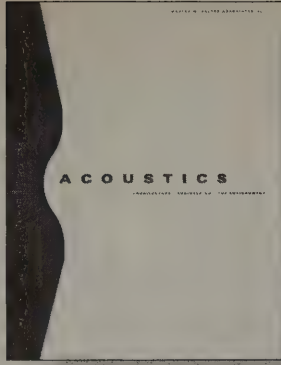
1101 Cedar View Drive, Minneapolis, MN 55405, 651/222-2080, fax 612/377-4494, ybc@saintpaul.com, www.saintpaul.com/ybc.

Website includes links, articles, and a discussion group.

Acoustics
Architecture, Engineering,
the Environment

Charles M. Salter Associates, Inc. 1998; 340 pp. \$75.
 William Stout Publishers, 501 Greenwich Street, San Francisco, CA 94133, 415/391-6757, fax 415/989-2341, stoutbooks@earthlink.com, www.stoutbooks.com.

From God's instructions to Moses on how to build a tabernacle to Lucasfilm's acoustical standards for cinema equipment, good acoustics requires sound design. If you want to plan and build a listening space, reduce environmental noise, file a lawsuit based on noise complaints, or increase your knowledge of how and what we hear, this book is the first-aid kit and encyclopedia for a quieter, more in-tune commons. Resources for every conceivable project, from courtrooms to amusement parks to streets, in an unusually accessible, lively format. The best acoustics reference around. — Don Pearson



screenings. It has a reverse fan shape with a maximum ceiling height of 10 m (33 ft.) The canopy above the stage can be adjusted to accommodate the number of performers and the type of music that is being played. It is stepped and angled to help create a uniform early sound

field. During music festivals, the first three seating rows can be removed to allow a pull-out stage to be extended, which accommodates over 150 musicians.

The suspended ceiling is 50 mm (2 in.) thick plaster to reflect low-frequency sound energy. In addition, all wall surfaces are angled and shaped to diffuse the sound throughout the audience area. The wall surfaces contain sliding 50 mm (2 in.) thick sound-absorbing panels that can be fully retracted into pockets. This allows for an adjustment of stage acoustics, particularly near the brass and percussion sections, which sometimes overpower quieter musical instruments. The overall reverberation time can be varied between 1.3 and 1.8 seconds when the Hall is empty. To avoid excessive noise, the mechanical equipment is isolated in an adjacent structure.

“ HARRIS CONCERT HALL

Built by the Aspen Music Festival and School, the Joan and Irving Harris Concert Hall was designed to provide a performance and rehearsal space for the popular summer festival's students. The 500-seat, largely subterranean concert hall is used primarily for music performances, music recording, and film

“ Room acoustics design criteria are determined according to the room's intended use. Music, for example, is best appreciated in spaces that are “warm” and reverberant. Speech, by contrast, is more intelligible in rooms that are less reverberant and more absorptive....It is possible to create suitable acoustics for both speech and music in the same space, although this is rarely accomplished without some degree of compromise.

“ ASSOCIATION V. DEVELOPER

A real estate developer purchased a multi-family building site near a municipal airport. The city planning department required that prescriptive constructions be used for exterior walls, windows, and roof/ceilings if a building site was exposed to noise levels that are DNL 65 dB and above. The city-approved designs consisted of double stud walls and double windows. The noise level at the building site was well above DNL 65 dB. Regardless, the developer, acoustic engineer, architect, and contractor did not follow the city's prescriptive constructions. The construction as designed and built was below the requirements of the city....The sound level measured in the homes due to single-event aircraft noise was clearly unacceptable.

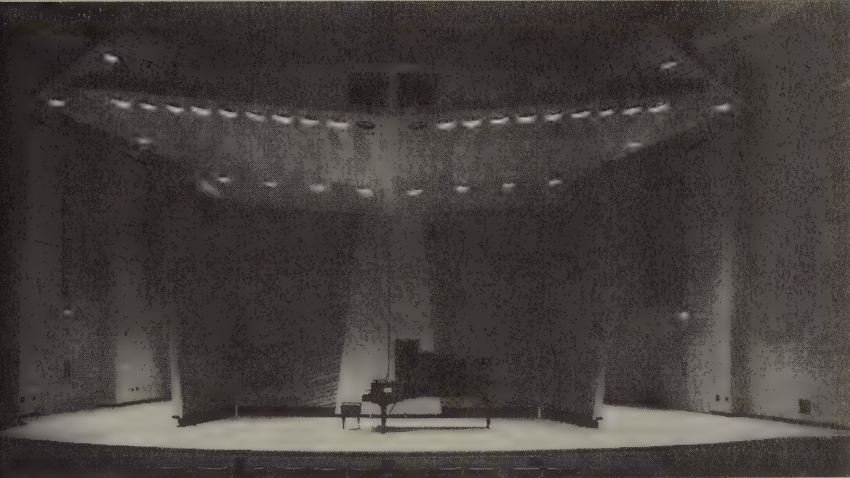
“ NATURAL SOUNDS

Source	Sound level (in dBA)
Rustling leaves	55-66
Medium-sized waterfall (10 ft.)	69-70
Cow (10 ft.)	94
Insects/crickets	35-55

Man-made sounds

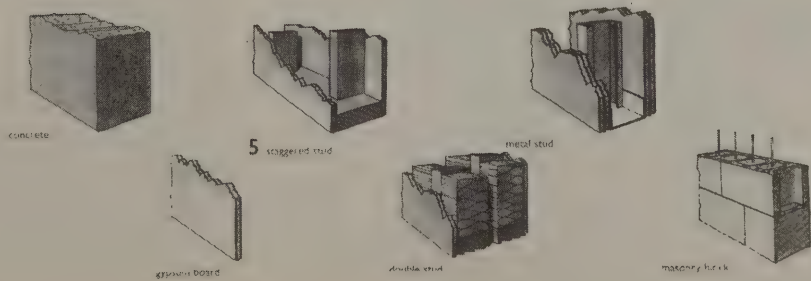
Jet aircraft (200 ft.)	112
Live music	110
Subway train (30 ft.)	100
Vacuum cleaner (10 ft.)	70
Automobile (50 ft.)	65

Harris Concert Hall.
 Location
 Aspen, Colorado.
 Architect
 Harry Teague Associates,
 Aspen, Colorado.
 Associate
 Acoustician
 Elizabeth A. Cohen.



“ Sound Transmission Class (STC):

A single-number rating derived from laboratory measurement of sound transmission loss. STC is calculated in accordance with ASTM E413, “Classification for Rating Sound Insulation.” The STC describes the sound-insulating properties in the 100-4 kHz frequency range, primarily for assessing speech transmission through a structure, such as a partition.



Data for Walls:
 Concrete, STC 55.
 Gypsum board, STC 28.
 Staggered stud, STC 42.
 Double stud, STC 59.
 Metal stud, STC 56.
 Masonry block, STC 55.





M. POFFENBERGER, FROM VILLAGE VOICES, FOREST CHOICES (SEE P. 46).

Michael Stone

Map or Be Mapped

We all were taught: the map is not the territory. But, recent attempts to secure land for indigenous peoples find the entanglement of maps and territories to be more complex. The map—or control of the map—sometimes *makes* the territory, especially when indigenous people have been invaded by map-makers. “More indigenous territory has been claimed by maps than by guns,” University of California geographer Bernard Nietschmann concludes from his field experience. “And more indigenous territory can be reclaimed and defended by maps than by guns.”

Mapping of land-based commons—mapping of, by, and for the people—has been dubbed “counter-mapping,” “community-based mapping” or “participatory mapping.” The mapping toolkit comprises everything from maps scratched on the ground to high-tech GPS and GIS, and often assistance by outside NGOs or universities. Affordable equipment and access to a network of expertise provide communities map-making capacities comparable to those formerly enjoyed only by nation-states and wealthy corporations.

Official maps frequently misrepresent indigenous land, treat it as uninhabited, or reveal ambiguous borders. Clear boundary definition becomes

**For Centuries,
Governments
and Corporations
Have Used Maps
to Take Land from
Indigenous People,
Now the People Are
Using Maps to
Fight Back**

the first line of defense against encroaching cattle ranchers, loggers, miners, road builders, and land speculators. But the mapping process also changes people’s perceptions of themselves and their territory, their resources, and their history. It can help political organizing and tilt the playing field of resource politics.

Current projects range from micro-mapping single communities to the Oxfam-sponsored effort to map all 1300 of Peru’s Native Amazonian communities. Most projects are multi-leveled—simultaneously mapping on inhabitants’ terms, using their names, symbols, scales, and priorities (sometimes called “folkloric” maps), and converting these into cartographically orthodox maps that will be recognized by officials, accepted in court, and usable in negotiations. Neither folkloric nor orthodox maps are more “correct.” Each represents a cultural interpretation of territory; each can be used to increase the usefulness of the other; each changes how residents and non-residents view their geography.

A key, says Mac Chapin of the Center for the Support of Native Lands, is the level of local participation: the higher the level, the richer and more beneficial the outcome. Take a 1995-96 Native Lands project in Izoceño communities in Bolivia.

A Vasava tribal woman in southern Gujarat shows foresters and village leaders, on a ground sketch made of local materials, where she travels in the forest to collect mahua, gum, fodder, and fuelwood.

Trained Izoceño surveyors armed with paper, colored pencils, and notebooks conducted village censuses and—working with village leaders—created hand-drawn maps showing land-use activities (where people live, farm, hunt, practice ritual, gather medicinal plants and construction materials), as well as structures, resources, relationships, and physical landmarks.

Cartographers used these maps to produce new 1:50,000 maps based on available Military Geographical Institute maps. Then the surveyors took the draft maps back to the communities for feedback and correction, while draftsmen checked exact locations using GPS and compass readings. Finally, the team produced a 1:250,000 map of the region and 1:75,000 zone maps.

Some governments now accept many of these home-grown maps, acknowledging them as more accurate than their own. In Panama and Honduras, government cartographers have participated from the beginning in recent projects. The maps legitimize boundaries for protecting areas and document land use and occupancy for land-rights negoti-

ations. They permit boundary monitoring with aerial or satellite photography, organizing land-based knowledge and resource inventories, and setting management and conservation priorities.

Just putting their names on the maps gives people a spiritual ownership of the things named, says Mac Chapin. Maps also give birth to a sense of region. The Honduran Mosquitia, for instance, includes 174 communities; before mapping, each dealt individually with cattlemen and loggers, unaware of others' arrangements. Mapping created a feeling of territory, leading to the organization of seven regional Miskito federations for collective action. Since most place names have a historical genesis, the mapping process also became the occasion for communities gathering across generations, sharing stories and songs, and recollecting their identity.

Indigenous mapping is not without problems or controversy (see below). But, as the creators of the *Maya Atlas* argue, either you will map or you will be mapped. ⊕

Unintended Consequences

Three views of mapping

Many communities fear government surveillance. Some are reluctant to reveal the location of prized resources. Mapping can assume worldviews (are there just four cardinal directions?) or land ownership notions alien to indigenous beliefs. Here are three views by mappers from the *CPR Digest* (May, 1998 special issue), the best forum on all common property resource issues.

Jeff Fox

Director, Program on Environment, East-West Center

As long as boundaries remain fluid and flexible, defined only in each person's mental image of the landscape, conflicts between competing interests (within villages or between neighboring villages) can be minimized. Once boundaries are mapped and legitimized by the state, however, conflicting images of reality cannot be overlooked any longer and must be addressed. In order to minimize conflict, land managers who have continued to map land use in [Indonesia] no longer map village boundaries.

Jake Kosek

Department of Geography, UC Berkeley

Mapping helps naturalize and communicate a dominant idea of who

belongs within particular boundaries and who does not, who may make decisions on behalf of the community and who may not. In many projects I have observed, the interests served are invariably those of the relatively powerful members of a community who would like to maintain particular social relations and who have greater influence on how the mapping process unfolds....

A reexamination of...roles will, at the very least, bring into question the notion that researchers and NGOs merely offer technical support or somehow play an apolitical role....Many counter-mapping projects have at least partial funding and support from conservation groups and as a result focus on resource conservation. Yet to assume that the goals of indigenous people are always aligned with the conservationists is dangerous.

Robert Rundstrom

Department of Geography, University of Oklahoma, Tulsa

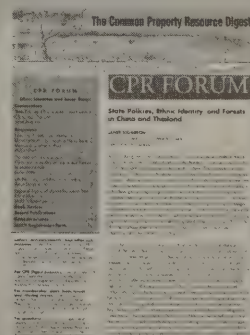
All such projects compel people to assimilate to a prevailing Cartesian-Newtonian (i.e., "Western") epistemology. That epistemology does not prize key characteristics of indigenous thinking....I can imagine three useful activities to pursue while we worry whether to map or not. First, we need comparative cross-cul-

tural studies, conceived as such at the onset....Canada has now opened the door to acceptance of oral geographies and histories for documenting customary land use in the courts. Those with geographical expertise might work to spread this "equality of documentation"....Finally, we might encourage more participatory projects among all people, so citizens see the value of non-contentious, non-assimilative mapping....And it just may help sensitize a few more people to the issues at stake when spatial technologies are used in places around and beyond their own neighborhoods.

The Common Property Resource Digest

Single issues \$10. \$30 annual membership in the International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP) includes four issues. IASCP, Indiana University, Woodburn Hall 220, Bloomington, IN 47405-6005, 812/855-9297, iascp@indiana.edu, www.indiana.edu/~iascp/index.html.

The best forum and bibliographies on issues facing the commons, directed at researchers and practitioners.



Maya Atlas The Struggle to Preserve Maya Land in Southern Belize

The Maya People of Southern Belize in Conjunction with the Toledo Cultural Council and the Toledo Alcades Association. 1997; 154 pp. \$25 (\$30 postpaid). North Atlantic Books, PO Box 12327, Berkeley, CA 94712, 800/337-BOOK, fax 510/559-8279, orders@northatlanticbooks.com.

The *Atlas* is the most beautiful and accessible example of indigenous mapping. It began as an attempt to defend land rights against the assaults of foreign loggers and the Belize government's intent to pave a major highway through Maya territory. As the participants shaped the project, though, they expanded it into a fully developed testimonial to Mayan culture, history, and way of life. The completed *Atlas* sings "We are here" as clearly as a field of meadowlarks. Only time, and the efforts of whoever cares about indigenous culture, will tell whether the *Atlas* survives as the song of living people or becomes another museum reminder of the ways of a vanished culture. —MKS

"The *Maya Atlas*...was created by many different people, bearing the imprint of multiple voices....The village histories were written by a member of each village. They are not uniform because they relate what is significant to the people of the village....Every person who participated wrote with their own eyes and their own heart. They are not always the same, but they are the eyes and the hearts of the Maya....You are learning about the Maya of southern Belize in a way that no one has before, and we welcome you to our world.

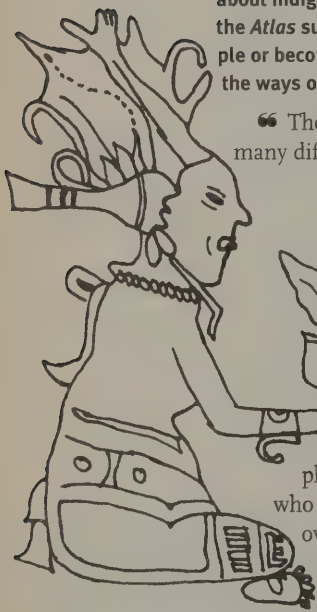
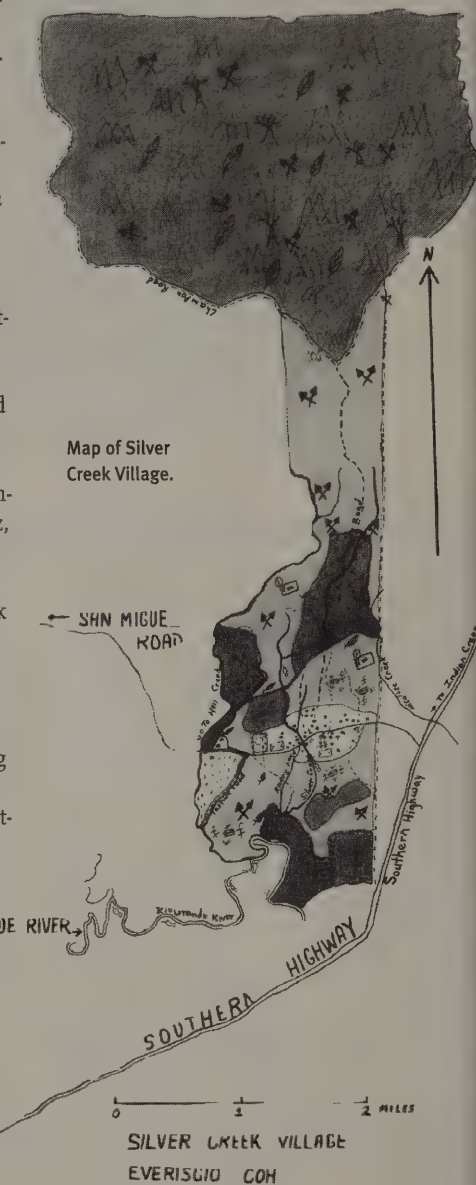
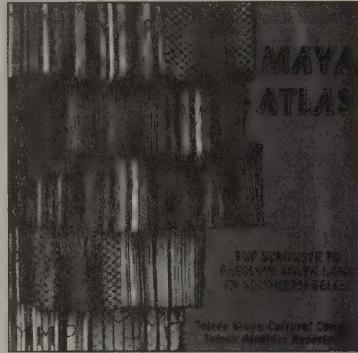
"A point to be made in this atlas for the upcoming Maya generation is that this kind of exploitation [uncontrolled outside hunting] should be prevented. At this time of writing, a recent report told of a hunter visiting one of his many hunting grounds, where he was greatly annoyed by what he saw. He counted many recently hunted wild pig heads.

This is commercial slaughter, which should not have occurred and must not happen again. We must not invite outside hunters—this is the only way to stop this kind of animal destruction in the wild lands.

"SILVER CREEK POPULATION 267. The traditional culture is rich, including the Cortez Dance, making pottery, embroidery, and other art work. The village was awarded first prize for being the cleanest village by having a regular *fajina* (a clean-up program).

In October, 1974 the local political representative, Vincente Choco, completed the road connection from Silver Creek to San Miguel with a proper graveled road. The village *alcade* Lorenzo Sam, area representative Vincente Choco, and Harry Gomez, land officer of Punta Gordo Town, officially filed a statement that the local border between San Miguel and Silver Creek is Go-To-Hell Creek.

In 1975 the Roman Catholic primary school was built at a cost of BZ\$1,600 [US\$800] by a priest, Fr. John Cull S.J. After that, the *alcade* requested a meeting house—*cabildo* (*popol*)—which cost BZ\$350 [US\$175]. The *alcade* also requested a water supply but was unsuccessful.



Yum Kax, the corn god.

- RIVERS
- ROADS
- HOUSES
- WATERFALLS
- CAVES
- HILLS
- MOUNTAINS
- HISTORICAL AND SACRED PLACES
- FIREWOOD, MILPA AND WARMIL
- DRINKING WATER
- HEALTH CLINICS
- TRADITIONAL HEALERS
- MARKETS
- CHURCHES
- COMMUNITY OFFICES
- GOVERNMENT HOUSE OR OFFICES
- GUEST HOUSE OR ROOMS FOR RENT
- HOUSE ANIMALS
- HUNTING
- FISHING

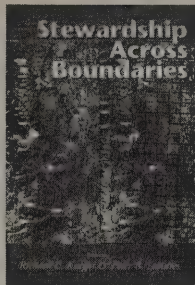
- FOOD PLANTS
- MEDICINAL PLANTS
- FORBIDDEN PRODUCTS
- ECONOMIC ACTIVITY
- ARTS and Crafts
- GAME AREAS
- OUTSIDE PROBLEMS
- HIGHLAND FOREST
- MINIAMBRE
- DEUKEN RIDGE
- SWAMPS

- GRASSLAND
- CITRUS
- PINE RIDGE
- PASTURE
- HIGHWAYS
- PATH/TRAILS
- STREAM
- CREEKS
- SCHOOL
- BIG AND
- IMPORTANT RIVERS
- LOGGING

Stewardship Across Boundaries

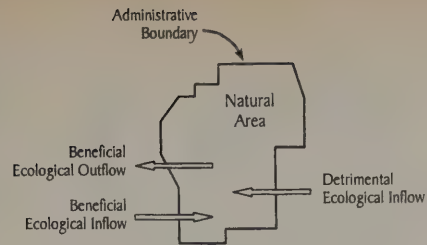
Richard L. Knight and Peter B. Landres, eds.
1998; 371 pp. \$29.95. Island Press.

Both chainlink concepts and cliff edges serve as sharp boundaries; just as cloudy dreams and tundra/forest edges serve as fuzzy ones. Here's the first book to look at ecological/social boundaries in the industrialized world (nothing about indigenous cultures in the "Third World"). Being the first, it's important. Being a first, it's a mixed bag, but with engaging case studies and great chapters on laws and cross-boundary stewardship and public/private boundary conflicts. With seventy percent of the US (outside Alaska) owned privately, *Stewardship* is a must for practical bioregionalists trying to maintain both livable cities and viable ecosystems. All those phrases—*Good fences make good neighbors. Don't fence me in. Towards the sky, there are no fences facing*—touch ground here. —PW



“What are boundaries? They are not merely human gashes across the natural landscape. Rather, boundaries mark divisions of control over and responsibility for resources among individuals, organizations, and governments.... Just as ecological boundaries are best understood as zones of transitions (Risser, 1993), gradients of change (di Castri, et al. 1988), and membranes (Norton, 1992), social boundaries are areas

of both difference and change, and of contact and interaction. Social boundaries typically are governed by rules and conventions that define the terms of engagement between the actors and organizations they simultaneously separate and connect. Moreover, social boundaries can reshape and sometimes even create ecological ones.



Types of ecological flow across the administrative boundary of a natural area. Beneficial flows result from typical ecological functions, such as migratory dis-

persal, and may be vital to the ecological integrity. Detrimental inflows are from invasive exotic plants & animals, predators, and pathogens.

Geographic Information Systems (GIS)

GIS are computer systems designed for the organization, analysis, and visual representation of layers of data from multiple databases. The gee-whiz and hype levels are still high. Charles Convis of the Environmental Systems Research Institute (ESRI), the leading GIS software purveyor, estimates that eighty percent of conservationists will never need GIS. For the others, it is proving to be a powerful tool, great for

pulling information from bureaucratic pigeon holes and integrating and analyzing data that crosses political/administrative boundaries. More than once, a conservation group using GIS has produced the first good maps and useful data for a watershed or other boundary-jumping territory. Costs are dropping, and a growing network offers support and access to free software and hardware. —MKS

Community Mapping

Maps and Dreams

Hugh Brody. 1981; 294 pp. \$13.95 (\$17.95 postpaid). Waveland Press, Inc., PO Box 400, Prospect Heights, IL, 60070, 847/634-0081, info@waveland.com.

Hugh Brody traveled to northeast British Columbia in 1978, to study the territory scheduled to be cut by the Alaska Highway natural gas pipeline. His "study" led to an eighteen-month sojourn, and the methods he developed became a model for community mapping.

Maps and Dreams reminds us of both the importance and the difficulties of mapping routes across the mental boundaries that separate cultural realities. If you read one book, read this one.

Geomatics: Who Needs It?

Winter, 1995 issue of Cultural Survival Quarterly. \$5 (\$7.50 postpaid). Cultural Survival Publications Dept., 96 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, csinc@cs.org, www.cs.org/cs/q/csq.

"Geomatics" is elaborating traditional mapping with advanced information technologies. This issue includes a broad survey of mapping projects and the technologies they employ.

Indigenous Peoples, Mapping & Biodiversity Conservation

Peter Poole. 1995; 83 pp. Free. Biodiversity Conservation Network, c/o Anand Mishra, 202/778-7634, fax 202/861-8324, anand.mishra@wfwf.us.org, www.BCNet.org.

Profiles sixty-three locally initiated or managed projects employing the spectrum of mapping technologies, with contact information.

Center for the Support of Native Lands

3240 Wilson Boulevard, Room 220, Arlington, VA 22201-4408, 703/841-9771, fax 703/841-9774, nativlan@access.digex.net.

Native Lands works with indigenous peoples in Central America to defend their lands and natural resources. It has organized participatory mapping projects in Honduras, Panama, and Bolivia.

Instituto para el Bien Común

Casilla 18-0521, Lima 18, Peru, rchsmith@chavin.rcp.net.pe.

An outgrowth of an Oxfam mapping project, the *Instituto* deals with common property issues among indigenous peoples in South America.

Forest People's Programme
1c Fosseyway Business Centre—Stratford Road,

Moretin-in-Marsh, GL56 9NQ, UK, wrm@ign.apc.org.

Works extensively with indigenous peoples in tropical forest regions, e.g. the Amerindian peoples of the Upper Mazurini River in Guyana.

Instituto Socioambiental

Av. Higienópolis, 901 01238-001, Sao Paulo-SP, Brazil, sociamb@ax.apc.org., www.socioambiental.org.

Assists indigenous communities of the Amazon region to gain title to their lands through a program of mapping, demarcation, and political negotiation. —MKS

GIS by Kai Snyder

The Society for Conservation GIS

PO Box 861 Lake Placid, FL 33862 Attn.: Roberta L. Pickert, www.scgis.org.

SCGIS assists and facilitates cooperation between individuals using GIS for biodiversity conservation, through ongoing training and professional development, annual conferences, assistance in obtaining GIS equipment, software and services, and free access to data.

SCGIS is currently working to set ethical and procedural standards for the creation and use of GIS data and publishing a peer-reviewed journal.

The ESRI Conservation Program (ECP)

www.esri.com/base/users/conservation/conservation.html.

ESRI, the world market leader in GIS software, is committed to helping nonprofits active in conservation, environment, indigenous peoples, and sustainable development to acquire, learn, and use GIS tools and methods. *ECP's* long-term interest is creation of permanent, locally-based support structures to provide ongoing growth in GIS skills for conservation. The *ECP* website is an excellent source for free downloadable "light-weight" GIS software, free GIS data, tutorials on GIS use, discussions of conservation policy issues, numerous examples of GIS use by conservation organizations and links to organizations and projects.

ECP has provided more than 2,000 organizations and partners worldwide with donations of software and training. For grant information, send a blank email message (no subject, no message) to ecp@lists.desktop.org.

The Conservation GIS Consortium

www.desktop.org/cgiscf/cgisc.htm.

CGISC sponsors a free GIS

technical support line for all conservation nonprofits, tied into both the *ESRI* and Hewlett-Packard tech support departments. To use this service, describe your GIS technical or conservation analysis problem in full, include sample outputs, a full verbatim accounting of all error messages, and a complete description with version numbers of all your hardware and software.

The CONSGIS Discussion Forum

To subscribe, send an email message to: LISTSERV@URI-ACC.URI.EDU (leave the subject field blank). Enter a one line message which reads only: *SUBSCRIBE CONSGIS*.

Listserv discussion forum on conservation GIS issues.

The Conservation Technology Support Program

www.ctsp.org.
CTSP, a partnership among the *CGISC*, *ESRI*, *H-P*, *Apple*, *Trimble Navigation*, *GTCO Corporation*, *Iomega*, *ERDAS, Inc.*, *Microsoft*, and the *Smithsonian Institution*, has awarded close to \$3 million in in-kind grants to 150 USA-based conservation and environmental groups. For guidelines and application information, send a blank email to ctsp@lists.desktop.org.

Selling A Piece of Your

MOTHER

Never defeated in war, the Independent Traditional Seminoles cannot, according to their own laws, own land. For 200 years, in a sacred space called Florida, they've lived with integrity, without property, and in search of a secure ceremonial home.

Catherine Caufield

Among the Seminoles, the "working rules" for a commons emerge from a heart-based, spiritual affinity to place, a multi-generational attachment to place. AngloEuropeans too often speak of this sacred sense of commons as if it were obvious, easily understood. Seminole medicine bags and Anglo-European property laws

are both sacred bundles of rights. The bundles have clashed. Protracted complex "reality" conflicts, disharmony among kin, subverted livelihoods, and desecrated landscapes befell the Seminoles. One important lesson: culture embeds resource economics, not the other way round. —PW



IN OCTOBER 1975 TIM COULTER, A LAWYER AND MEMBER of the Potawatomi Tribe, received a call at his Washington, DC office from Guy Osceola, a Seminole Indian who had heard of Coulter's efforts to help the Lakota Sioux, the Hopi, and other Indian groups reclaim their hereditary lands and maintain their traditional way of life. Osceola told Coulter he was calling on behalf of a group of Traditional Seminoles. The federal government was about to pay them a large sum of money in compensation for its seizure last century of their aboriginal lands, which constitute three-quarters of the state of Florida. Osceola asked for Coulter's help in refusing it.



GLEASON WATE ROMER, ROMER COLLECTION, MIAMI-DADE PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Traditional Seminoles, Osceola explained, were landless. The money would enable them to buy the land they desperately needed, but, he added, they did not want it. “The Great Spirit put the land here for everybody to live on,” he said. “We don’t believe in accepting money for the land because the land is not ours to sell. It belongs to everybody.” Nonetheless, it appeared that the government was going to compel the Seminoles to take the money.

Coulter flew to Florida to meet his new clients. “I knew in advance from telephone conversations that these were very traditional and deliberately independent people,” he told me. “Even among Indians these people were known to be particularly adamant in their refusal to become involved in the

outside world. So I wasn’t surprised at what I found, but it was still an experience. They were living not that differently from the way their grandfathers had—in thatched huts, hunting and fishing, speaking their own language, celebrating their own religion. They absolutely refused to get involved with the federal government. They wouldn’t live on a reservation or attach themselves to one of the federally approved tribal governments, or even take the federal benefits that they’re entitled to. And the cost of keeping to their principles was high: they had no land of their own; they were ignored when the government made decisions that affected them; and there they were fighting like hell against having this compensation money forced on them.”

A group of Seminoles witnessing the arrival of the modern world. Miami, 1929.



Osceola, a young Seminole warrior, resisted removal and led the guerrilla offensive which launched the Second Seminole War.

As Coulter discovered, the Independent Traditional Seminole Nation of Florida, as the traditionalists call themselves, is small; few people are even aware that it exists. Its two hundred members live in villages and camps scattered around southwest Florida. Around forty-five years ago most of the 2,500 Seminole Indians in Florida left the traditional nation and joined one of the state's two federally sanctioned tribes. These two, the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida, have reservation land and can offer their members federal benefits and profits from such enterprises as bingo, sales of tax-free cigarettes and the leasing of reservation land for oil and gas exploration. The Independent Traditional Seminole Nation offers none of these things, but it does have the distinction of being the only Indian group in the country that has never been defeated by the United States in warfare and never submitted to its authority in peacetime.

The Traditional Seminoles have a simple need: a place where they can be free to live according to their customs. They maintain a claim to more than five million acres of southern Florida, a claim that they would like to settle in or out of court. But

Coulter and his colleagues at the nonprofit Indian Law Resource Center have had to postpone, time after time, a full-fledged effort to pursue that claim. Their meager financial resources and their energies have been focused instead on fending off a series of attacks on the Traditional Seminoles—efforts by the federal and state governments to impose upon them a foreign system of government, to deny their existence as an Indian group, to extinguish their land claim before that claim has even been heard, and to require them to violate their spiritual beliefs. In 1991 it seemed that they had finally succeeded in blocking the last of these attacks. At that point, a new problem, potentially the most serious so far, demanded their attention: the loss of the site where for 250 years the Seminoles have performed the Green Corn Dance, the sacred ceremony at the heart of their religion and their culture.

The Fairest Part of Florida

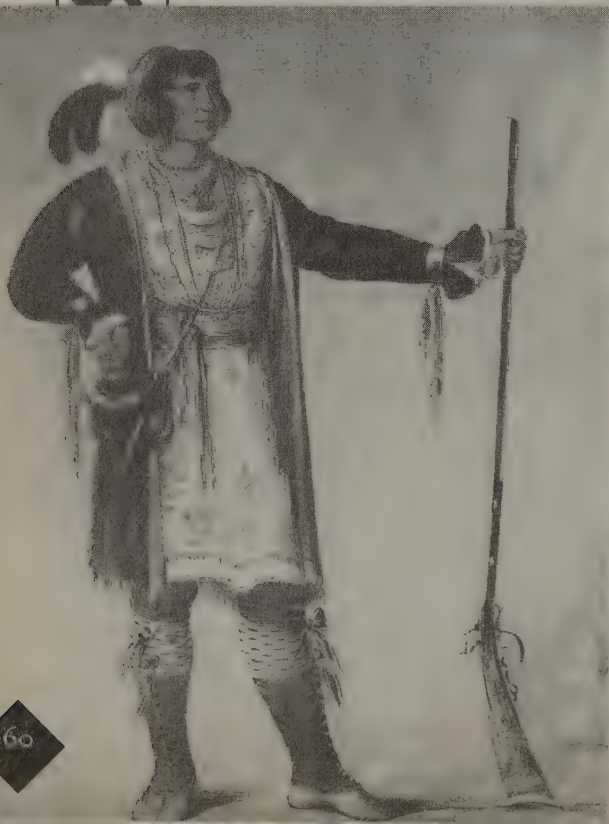
Two hundred years ago the Seminoles had most of the land we now call Florida to themselves. They poled their dug-out canoes through its watery marshes and swamp forests, fed on its game and fish, made their shelter from its cypress and palm trees, found their medicine in its plants, and worshiped their Creator in sacred ceremonies and everyday acts. But until the 18th century, there were no Seminoles in Florida—and in fact, no Seminoles anywhere. The ancestors of today's Seminoles were members of the Creek Confederacy, who lived in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. In the early 1700s a wave of British colonists drove many Creeks to leave their homelands and take refuge in Florida, whose aboriginal population had been nearly annihilated by two centuries of Spanish occupation. Eventually, the Florida Creeks came to be considered, by themselves and others, as a separate tribe, and were called by a new name, Seminole, a Creek word meaning wild or untamed.

Slavecatchers regularly raided Seminole villages in search of the escaped slaves to whom the Seminoles gave sanctuary. Florida was a Spanish colony, but border skirmishes involving Seminoles, slavecatchers, American homesteaders, and the US military were common. Eventually the Americans—eager to pry Florida from Spain's weak grip—made one such skirmish a pretext for full war. The First Seminole War—a war against the Seminoles and the Spanish—began in 1817 and ended two years later with the Spanish ceding Florida to the United States. General Andrew Jackson, who led the war, was made military governor of the new territory.

One of Jackson's first acts was to try and round up the surviving Seminoles and transfer them to a reservation. In 1823, under pressure from Jackson and his subordinates, thirty-two Seminole leaders agreed to move their people south to a reservation in central Florida, which was to be off-limits to the American settlers then swarming into the territory. When the Seminoles got to the reservation, they discovered they had given up 24 million acres of fertile land for less than 6 million acres of sandy and marshy soils. Drought, lack of game, and poor farming conditions made it impossible for the Seminoles to feed themselves. In addition, they suffered intrusions by traders, liquor salesmen, hunters, and slavecatchers.

In 1830 Jackson, whose successes in the Indian Wars had by then propelled him to the Presidency, signed the Indian Removal Act, giving him power to move all eastern Indians to Indian Territory, west of the Mississippi. Public sentiment in Florida was strongly for shipping the Seminoles out as soon as possible. Their presence, complained the territorial Legislative Council, "has seriously impeded the settlement of the fairest part of Florida."

In 1832 seven Seminoles agreed to look at the land the government had set aside for the tribe in Oklahoma. They signed a document





known as the Treaty of Fort Gibson agreeing to move to Oklahoma by January 1, 1836. The rest of the tribe pointed out that the seven had no authority to sign on their behalf and said that in any case, their signatures had been obtained through the use of bribery, alcohol, and coercion. At least three of the signers concurred with these arguments, as did Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock, who wrote in his war diary that the Seminole removal treaty “was a fraud upon them and they have in fact never agreed to emigrate.” The US government, however, maintained that the treaty was valid and made plans to move the Seminoles out of Florida.

Another Dirty War

Some Seminole leaders, weary of hunger and conflict, were reluctantly ready to comply with the order to move. But one young warrior, Osceola, resisted and inspired others to follow him. As the deadline for the move to Oklahoma approached, they went on the offensive against the troops who had been sent to organize the exodus. A series of surprise attacks in the last days of 1835, in which a handful of Indians killed more than 100 US soldiers, launched the Second Seminole War. It continued for nearly eight years and was one of the bloodiest, costliest, and least successful wars in American history.

The United States fought a dirty war. Thirty-three Seminole leaders were captured while negotiating under flags of truce, including Osceola, who died in captivity from complications of malaria and whose head was cut off and kept as a trophy by the attending physician. The odds were heavily in the Americans’ favor. Altogether 50,000 Americans served in the Second Seminole War, and there were never fewer than 3,800 US troops in the field at any one time. The Seminoles, by contrast, had no more than 1,500 warriors all told.

Still, the American forces rarely gained a victory. The Seminoles fought a brilliant guerrilla campaign,

refusing to be drawn into pitched battles, attacking by stealth, and withdrawing into the protection of the swamps and forests of south Florida. A succession of the nation’s top generals—including Winfield Scott and Zachary Taylor—were dispatched to Florida, but to no avail. Finally in 1842—unable to bear the human and financial cost any longer—the US unilaterally stopped the war. Not until the Vietnam War was the United States to suffer such a costly and humiliating defeat. The Second Seminole War took the lives of almost 1,500 American soldiers and an unknown number of volunteers and civilians, and cost the government \$40 million, a figure that does not include the value of destroyed farms, homes, plantations, and livestock. Nonetheless, the Seminoles bore the brunt of the war. During the fighting and in its immediate aftermath, almost 4,000 Seminoles were captured or gave themselves up to be shipped West. At the war’s end, fewer than 500 remained in Florida, living deep in the Everglades or its neighbor to the west, the Big Cypress Swamp.

In the ten years following the end of the Second Seminole War, Florida’s population almost doubled, and the newcomers wanted the Indians out of the way. With bribes, bounty-hunters, and armed troops, the United States managed to move another 200 Seminoles to Oklahoma by 1861. By then the United States—its attention diverted by the looming Civil War—had lost its will to continue the fight. When the US finally gave up, 300 Seminoles were still living free in the Florida swamps—the most defiant members of a famously defiant tribe.

Determined to avoid contact with the outside world, the Florida Seminoles faded into the southern wetlands where, for a time, they were able to follow their traditional ways in peace. Their greatest protection was the forbidding terrain in which they lived, a crazy quilt of jungle swamp, alligator-infested waterways, and marshes filled with razor-sharp

saw grass—the whole subject to heavy rains, ferocious heat, and prodigious swarms of blood-sucking insects. Creeks and channels were the thoroughfares of the region, and only an experienced navigator could thread his way from one side of the peninsula to the other through the thousands of crisscrossing water paths.

Older people today can still recall their lives in those years of relative isolation from the white world. Buffalo Tiger, who was born in the Everglades around 1910 and who didn’t see a white person until he was ten years old, described his early years. “It was just a simple life, but a beautiful one....Our people didn’t have to worry about going to work, didn’t have to worry about having money to buy food. It was up to you if you had food on the table. You had to go out and find it. It was a challenge. We didn’t have to go to school, but we learned so much in the nighttime. Our parents were teaching us all the time. And we had fun learning what we were supposed to learn. We listened to the wind, and watched which way it blew: at a certain time of month, every month, it changed. We learned things like that, so many things like that.”

By the 1940s changes to the land had put an end to this isolated existence. The wetlands around Lake Okeechobee had been drained and converted to orange groves and sugarcane fields, and the Tamiami Trail, a road linking Tampa on the west coast with Miami on the east, gave settlers, hunters, loggers, tourists, and real estate speculators easy access to the heart of the Everglades and the Big Cypress Swamp, where the Seminoles hunted and lived. In 1947 the creation of the Everglades National Park left hundreds of Seminole families homeless. Landless, hungry, and frightened,

Almost 20 years after the Second Seminole War, 300 Seminoles were still living free in the Florida swamps—the most defiant members of a famously defiant tribe.

many Seminoles moved to a reservation, despite the warnings of the tribe's elders that such a move was the abandonment not merely of a home site, but of a way of life.

"The group that went to the reservation, you know, they were told that they would have federal aid, health aid, and money, and I guess in the modern way, the good life," Danny Billie, who acts as the spokesman for the Traditional Seminoles, told me. "But those are the kinds of things that the tradition-

al people resisted. They didn't want to have anything to do with the federal government, just wanted to be left alone to live their traditional and customary way." Thus began what one Bureau of Indian Affairs officer called "a division between modern progressives and those who want to cling to tribal traditions."

Selling Your Mother

Though the traditionalists of the tribe were saddened by the decision of most Seminoles to move to the reservation, they accepted their kin-folks' choice. For themselves, they wanted only to steer clear of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and to keep what was left of their old way of life. They soon discovered, however, that they could not afford to ignore outside forces. Taking advantage of a new federal law, the BIA in 1949 obtained the signatures of twelve reservation Seminoles on a request to the Indian Claims Commission for \$50 million in exchange for the complete extinction of the Seminole Nation's aboriginal land rights in Florida.

The traditionalists were outraged by this action. Buffalo Tiger, who was then acting as spokesman and interpreter for the General Council of the traditional Seminoles, told me, "We were really upset... We're not supposed to sell *any* land. We feel like it's accepting a couple of dollars for selling a piece of your mother.

That's what the people taught us, and this claim, we could see that it was harmful. So that's when we really began to have a fight on our hands."

The federal government established the Indian Claims Commission in 1946 in order to speed the settlement of all outstanding Indian land claims. The Commission, however, cannot return stolen lands. It can only offer financial compensation for their loss which, once accepted, legally extinguishes the tribe's claim to the land in question. Because some Indian groups might not be able to afford an attorney to represent them, the law stipulates that ten percent of the compensation be awarded to the attorneys who filed the petition. The law also contains a provision which has been used to overcome the unwillingness of many tribes to trade land for money: it allows individuals to sue for compensation on behalf of an entire tribe. Even if only one person sues, the award is made to the whole tribe, all members of which thus lose their aboriginal land rights.

It was this last provision that prompted the traditionalists to hire their own attorneys, first Morton Silver of Miami, and later—when the battle had already been underway for a quarter of a century—Tim Coulter. In 1953 Silver tried to get the Indian Claims Commission to dismiss the petition for compensation on the grounds that a large number of Florida Seminoles opposed it and would not agree to accept any money from the government. When the Commission refused to even consider the point, the Seminoles decided to appeal directly to President Eisenhower.

On March 1, 1954, three representatives of the Seminole General Council, George Osceola, Jimmie Billie, and Buffalo Tiger, mounted the steps of the US Capitol Building carrying a large buckskin scroll. The "Buckskin Declaration" was a formal petition to the President of the United States from the General Council. It is not a legal brief, but a

recitation of the history of US-Seminole relations and an appeal for fair play from the federal government:

"We have, and have had for centuries, our own culture, our own customs, our own government, our own language, and our own way of life which is different from the government, the culture, the customs, the language, and the way of life of the White Man.... We are not White Men but Indians, do not wish to become White Men but wish to remain Indians, and have an outlook on all of these things different from the outlook of the White Man. We do not wish to own lands because our land is for all of us. We have failed to have your Indian Agent or your Secretary of the Interior or your other government officials understand our outlook."

In response to the Buckskin Declaration, President Eisenhower sent Indian Affairs Commissioner Glenn Emmons to Florida to meet with the traditional Seminoles in December 1954. The official report of the Emmons visit emphasized that the General Council, not the reservation Indians, represented the traditional Seminoles: "The 'General Council' is not, as we occasionally suspected before visiting Florida, an organization recently thrown together by some Indian extremists or an ad hoc group. Actually it goes back for many generations and was, until comparatively recent years, the only forum available to the Florida Indians for discussion of problems affecting the whole tribal group."

The General Council continued to protest the actions of the Indian Claims Commission with a steady stream of letters, appeals, and legal motions, none of which caused the Commission to alter its course. Soon, however, the Seminole elders were distracted by a new threat: a plan to create an artificial, federally regulated Seminole Tribe.

Coerced Conformity: Three Seminole Tribes

The Seminole system of government is participatory democracy.

"We believe that the land should be open, no boundaries, no fences, nothing like that."

—Buffalo Tiger

There are no rulers, hereditary or elected. Spokesmen, like Guy Osceola and his successor, Danny Billie, are interpreters and representatives, not chiefs. The medicine man is in charge of certain religious matters, but his is a moral, rather than a temporal, authority. In times of conflict, war chiefs emerge by virtue of their skills, their energy, and the respect they command. But even in wartime, each camp or village resolves its issues by discussing them—with the guidance of clan leaders and elders, both men and women—until a consensus is reached. Decisions may differ from village to village. If a broader accord is desirable, clan elders from each village talk until they reach a consensus. Communal decision-making is often a slow process, and it is not one with which American officialdom is comfortable. In more than a century of dealing with the Seminoles, the United States government and the State of Florida have felt keenly the lack of a single leader authorized to speak for all Seminole people.

In an attempt to streamline this time-consuming and decentralized form of decision-making, which is common to many Indian groups, the federal government adopted the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. The act requires Indian tribes that wish to receive government benefits to adopt a centralized government. The government and constitution of these IRA tribes must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. In the early 1950s the Bureau of Indian Affairs' agents in Florida informed the Seminoles that there was some money waiting for them in the federal treasury, mostly income from leases of reservation land to white farmers and ranchers, but that the money

could only be paid out when they formed an IRA tribe. A group of reservation Indians decided to form such a tribe. Though it was shunned by the traditionalists, the Seminole Tribe of Florida received its charter from the Secretary of the Interior in 1957. Each person who signed up received twenty-five dollars and became eligible for various federal benefits. The Tribe now has approximately 2,000 members and five reservations totaling 78,000 acres.

Despite his position as spokesman for those Seminoles who regarded the new IRA Seminole Tribe as a puppet government, Buffalo Tiger eventually became convinced that they would also have to become an IRA tribe in order to secure a land base and survive. In his role as spokesperson he began to move the General Council toward that goal. "We didn't want to go in that direction," he recently told me. "We didn't want to live on a reservation. We believe that the land should be open, no boundaries, no fences, nothing like that. But there was no protection for us: the land was being bought up and developed all around us. So, like it or not, we had to go with the government."

In negotiating with the US government for IRA status and for a reservation, however, Buffalo Tiger went further than the General Council realized or wanted. Eventually some members of the council asked Billy Doctor, a traditionalist who also spoke some English, to investigate. Matters came to a head dramatically in March of 1956 at a meeting in which Buffalo Tiger was reporting on his dealings with various federal authorities. "That's when [Billy Doctor] came in," said Bobby Billie, who attended the meeting as a very young child. "He'd been going to

night school and he learned how to read and write pretty well. He walked up to the front and took those papers and read them out loud. And he said, 'This is saying that they're putting up a reservation, that that's what you all want.' And the native people said, 'No, we don't want that. We need a big area so our future generations can survive, but we don't want that piece of land because we'll be under the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.'" Most, though not all, of the elders disagreed with Buffalo Tiger's view that it was finally time to submit to federal control. They demanded, and received, his resignation. Nevertheless, in 1962 the Miccosukee Tribe was formed. (The Tribe takes its name from Mikasuki, one of the two Seminole languages; the other language, Muskogee, is spoken mostly by members of the Seminole Tribe of Florida.) Buffalo Tiger became tribal chairman, a position he held for twenty-three years. The federal government gave the Tribe a fifty-year lease on 333 acres on the northern boundary of Everglades National Park. Later the Tribe also obtained 75,000 acres of reservation land. Today it has about 400 members.

Retreat of the Traditionalists

From 1956 to 1975, the Traditional Seminoles retreated into themselves and tried, against increasing odds, to continue their way of life. In those days, recalls Guy Osceola, the Traditional Seminoles "just wanted to be left alone, not to be bothered with changing life to the American way. They wanted to fish and hunt, just the simple life, you know, like they've been brought up. But people were buying the land. We had to move maybe a dozen times when I was growing up, because the



Seminole women's dress and hairstyles, from 1880 to 1990

owner wanted to use the land. We had to keep moving...We wanted to keep our Indian heritage and culture and language intact. Finally I talked to Tim about getting some land set aside, where we could live.”

District Court rejected the Traditional Seminoles’ argument, preferring the Justice Department’s view that Indians are not entitled to constitutional protections against actions of the federal government that affect

their aboriginal land rights. Osceola appealed this judgment to the Supreme Court, but the justices declined to hear the case.

They did, however, persuade Congress to add an amendment to the compensation bill ensuring that the money would not be forced on the Traditional Seminoles and that payment would not undermine their claim to the land.

Misfiled Fortune

Meanwhile, Coulter and Curtis Berkey, his colleague at the Indian Law Resource Center, were trying to establish what kind of land claim the Traditional Seminoles might be entitled to make. On his first trip to Florida, Coulter recalled, “Guy kept telling me that

I must speak to his father, Cory Osceola, that he’s the man who really knows the land situation. I asked for an audience, but it was three days before he would see me. Even though I’m an Indian, as far as he was concerned I was a Washington lawyer. He was adamant, ardent, severe, in his determination to remain as completely aloof and untouched by outside forces as he possibly could. He was a stern man.

“Finally, though, he did agree to see me. We went to his camp and he came out to the edge of the camp. He didn’t offer me a seat and he didn’t sit down either. We both stood throughout the meeting. I realized from his demeanor that I only had one opportunity to ask for the infor-

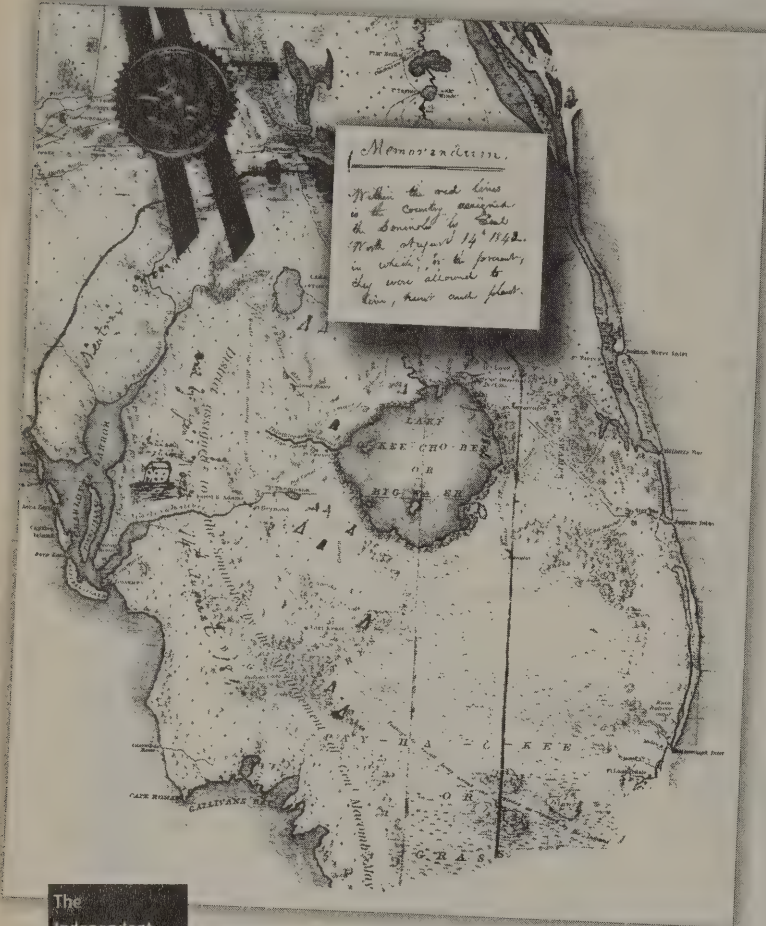
mation I needed, so I said ‘what is the history of your land rights?’ and he literally spent forty-five minutes giving me the answer. He told me about the Seminole wars and about a treaty that was made, an oral treaty with the United States, guaranteeing the Seminoles their land in south Florida. What he was telling me simply wasn’t in the history books, but I didn’t have any trouble with that. I had already dealt with cases like that where the oral history doesn’t correspond to the written history. In my Mohawk work I had found that the Indians turned out to be right, so I saw this as a similar case and took down what he said, realizing that I was going to have to go to the archives and to the original historical records to document what he was telling me.”

Back in Washington, Coulter and Berkey set about trying to substantiate Cory Osceola’s story. Berkey recalled the search: “The Seminoles were very specific about what had happened. They insisted that there was this agreement, made in 1842 at the end of the Second Seminole War with [Colonel William J.] Worth. The agreement had three parts. It said that this area was set aside and no non-Indians would be allowed in there. You could hunt and fish and live there as long as you agreed to rescue and help American sailors who were shipwrecked off the coastline. And if you were going to trade, you had to trade at certain trading posts within the area. Very specific. So we spent more than two years looking for this...something—a treaty, an agreement, some kind of map that would show this area. We looked in the National Archives, Library of Congress, State Archives in Florida, historical associations, and the personal papers of the President at that time, James Polk.”

They found nothing. “It wasn’t included in the compilation of treaties that had been published,” said Berkey. “A lot of people thought this was just folklore, or that they had just got the story wrong.”

In January 1978 a college stu-

With Osceola’s call to Tim Coulter, the Traditional Seminoles ended two decades of self-imposed isolation. Coulter’s first task was to fend off the compensation that the Indian Claims Commission, having confirmed the Seminoles’ aboriginal rights to three-fourths of Florida, was on the verge of awarding. In 1976 he filed suit in the Federal District Court in Washington, DC, asking that the claims process be declared unconstitutional on the grounds that it was depriving the Traditional Seminoles of their aboriginal land rights without allowing them an opportunity to be heard. *Osceola v. Kuykendall et al.* (Jerome Kuykendall was the chairman of the Commission) wound its way through the legal maze for a year before the



Memorandum.
 Within the red lines
 is the County assigned
 to the Seminoles by
 the Senate on 14th 1842.
 Note, wherever
 in white, by the former,
 they were allowed to
 live, hunt and plant.

The Independent Traditional Seminoles claimed that they had an oral treaty. The government denied it. A legal intern found the map above which proved it and confirmed their claim to 5 million acres. The “Memorandum” was signed by President Polk.

dent named Stephen Epp came to Washington from Minnesota to spend a month as an intern in Coulter's office. Coulter assigned Epp to look for evidence for the Seminoles' story. "I was calling all over, trying to track down information from different historians," Epp told me. "We went through many different avenues, but we never found anything. On my last day there I went out to the National Archives. There were a couple of boxes that had been stored away. I went through everything and couldn't find anything I was looking for. I thought, 'That's it; it's over.' I left and was waiting for the bus to go back into the center of town when the guy ran out and said, 'Wait. I found one more box. It's marked miscellaneous, but it seems to have a lot of Indian-related files.' So I went back in and looked through it and I found a map of Florida inside, all folded up. It had the Seminoles' land outlined and it had President Polk's signature."

"I remember that day very, very well," said Berkey. "There was jubilation in the office when he came back. Lots of people had looked in the same area that he had, but it was misfiled, it was in the wrong box. So when the Seminoles tell us the oral traditions, we pay attention. They were more reliable than the National Archives."

A copy of the map of southern Florida that Epp found that day now hangs in Curtis Berkey's office. It identifies all the land south of Lake Kissimmee (which lies roughly midway between the north and south of the state) and west of Lake Okeechobee as "the District set apart for the use and occupancy of the Seminoles." Another twenty-mile-wide swath outside this area is designated as "neutral ground, reserved from survey and sale." In the margin is a memorandum in Polk's handwriting, dated May 19, 1845, and signed by him:

"Within the red lines is the country assigned the Seminoles by Gen. Worth August 14, 1842, in which for

the present they are allowed to live, hunt and plant."

This map, and a slew of supporting documents, including an Army memorandum authorizing Gen. Worth to offer the land to the Seminoles, a record of the meeting in which the Seminoles and Worth came to their agreement, and a report to Congress from the War Department confirming that the Seminoles had adhered to the conditions of the agreement, form the basis of the Independent Traditional Seminole Nation's claim to five million acres of south Florida—thirteen percent of the state.

The mere filing of such a claim would throw south Florida into turmoil, clouding the title to millions of acres of land, holding up real estate transactions, and affecting property values. Before embarking on an expensive and time-consuming lawsuit, the Traditional Seminoles decided to try negotiating a settlement. In 1981, they opened negotiations with the state, but they found that, in Berkey's words, "the state's attitude was that the traditional people are merely a dissident faction of the other groups. So we needed, first of all, to convince them that we were here as a legitimate tribe." And that, they found, was a task made much more difficult by something the federal government had done a few years earlier.

Legitimate Indians?

In 1978 the Office of Federal Acknowledgment, a branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior, published a list of all the "acknowledged" Indian groups in the country. Florida's two IRA Tribes, the Seminole Tribe and the Miccosukee Tribe, were on the list, but the Traditional Seminoles were not.


For most groups, the main advantage of formal acknowledgment is the fact that acknowledged tribes are entitled to many federal benefits and services. The Traditional Seminoles, however, want federal acknowledgment only because it

would hasten the progress of their land claim by establishing in the eyes of the law that, in Berkey's words, "the Seminoles are who they say they are."

The Independent Traditional Seminole Nation applied for federal acknowledgment in 1982. As the petition ground its way through the notoriously time-consuming acknowledgment process, Curtis Berkey discovered an old Bureau of Indian Affairs document titled "Alphabetical List of Indian Tribal Organizations (1950)" which includes the "Tamiami Seminole" (named for the Tamiami Trail in the vicinity of which most of the non-reservation traditionalist Seminoles lived). Berkey says they thought "Aha! All we have to do is go to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and say 'We're already recognized. We were left off [the 1978] list by mistake.'" But the bureau turned down his request that the Traditional Seminoles simply be reinstated to the list, saying "there is no policy under the acknowledgment regulations to cover such a request."

Instead, the bureau repeated an earlier request for more information "to clarify the obvious deficiencies found in the Traditional Seminole petition which were noted in our obvious deficiency letter." These "obvious deficiencies" include the lack of an "Ancestry Chart" in which each member names his or her spouse, parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents, and insufficient data on the Traditional Seminoles' migration patterns, social organization, and leadership—details of their lives they believe should not be revealed to outsiders. "We supplied that in general terms," said Berkey, "but the bureau is being very inflexible. The regulations were not intended to force legitimate Indian people and groups to prove every iota, every detail, about their existence and about how they live."

In the fall of 1991 the Traditional Seminoles submitted one last memorandum in an attempt to persuade the bureau that it does have the



authority to reinstate groups to the list of acknowledged tribes. If, as seemed likely, that argument was rejected, the Traditional Seminoles' nearly decade-long encounter with the BIA bureaucracy would come to an end, said Danny Billie. "They want to know how our system of relatives and kinfolks works and that's sacred to us....They're saying 'If you don't tell us that we're not going to recognize you.' So be it. The Creator recognizes us and that's what we care about."

Woodsmoke and Mailboxes

A visit to a Traditional Seminole village would serve to convince most people that they are indeed a legitimate Indian tribe—and that their landlessness has put them on the edge of survival. A cluster of mailboxes on a county road in southwest Florida marks the entrance to one such village. Sheltered from the road by a screen of trees, the compound consists of perhaps half an acre of land housing a collection of open-sided, palm-thatched huts called chickees. Arriving early one morning in the spring of 1991, I left my car alongside a beat-up pick-up truck and took a few tentative steps into the village, unsure of how to announce my presence. The sound of sawing led me to a man cutting wood and to several women cooking over a wood fire in the shade of a chickee. I introduced myself and we exchanged greetings, mine in English and theirs in Mikasuki (or Hititchi, as the Traditional Seminoles prefer to call their language). They were expecting me, and the man sent a passing child in search of Danny Billie. One of the women gestured at an upended log near the fire. Breathing in the sweet wood smoke, I took the proffered seat and looked around.

The village was arranged in the typical Seminole manner. The cooking house is in the center, surrounded by an area of open ground that has been pounded to a hard, dustless surface by the many bare feet that cross it daily. Nearby stands a large

chickee with a raised plank floor and several tables and benches where the extended family eats, talks together, and receives visitors. Off to one side are several smaller chickees reserved for sewing, woodcarving, or other forms of craftwork. The open sides and thatched roofs of these structures provide shade and a cooling breeze that make even the most unpleasantly hot days comfortable. No wonder this indigenous form of architecture is so popular throughout Florida. Building chickees for suburban homeowners is, in fact, one of the Seminoles' main sources of income. Banana and palm trees, flowering shrubs, and small gardens are dotted about the village. Tucked into the greenery are a number of walled sleeping chickees. Furthest from the center are the outhouses, separate ones for men and women. A pig carrying a branch in his mouth trotted by, shaking his head and snorting like a horse; several roosters crowed competitively; and a curled-up cat napped in the shade of a hibiscus in full flower.

Soon Danny appeared, accompanied by his mother Susan, the matriarch of the Billie family, and several men and women from nearby camps. We introduced ourselves and moved to the large chickee and began talking. Since English-speakers find Seminole names hard to pronounce, the Seminoles have adopted English names for the use of outsiders. Their public names also afford the Seminoles' some privacy. When I asked Danny what his Seminole name is, he asked the others for permission before telling me: "Katchucholi: in English, Old Panther." In general, he said, "people are happy to reveal their true names, but some prefer to just keep their [Indian] names private to themselves and their family."

Despite their deep desire to be left to themselves, these Seminoles have made many concessions to the outside world. They have taken on the burden of breaking the language barrier. Though Mikasuki is their first language and the one they use

with one another, many speak or at least understand some English. A common language, however, cannot bridge the chasm between the Seminole view of the world and our own. Their attitude toward land ownership, for example, is nearly incomprehensible to most non-Indians. The notion that land cannot be bought or sold, cannot be owned at all, is deeply threatening to our society—or would be if there were any chance of such a notion taking hold. It is especially foreign in a state like Florida where, in the words of one local conservationist, "land is the number one product."

Danny's family is typical of the Traditional Seminoles. Technically squatters, they live on a small patch of their aboriginal lands at the whim of those who have acquired title to those lands and always subject to sudden eviction. "The land that we live on is the farmer's land," he said. "The only reason why we're allowed to stay here is because some of our people work for the owner....We moved here six years ago when our old place was turned into an orange grove. This had been a sawmill and a junkyard. There were car frames in the ground and stuff. We've tried to clean it out, and plant things, make it a nice place to live."

"Years ago, the Seminole people moved when they needed to," Danny told me. "When the surroundings that provided them with things were thinning out, they would move to another place until that area replenished itself. Then they would come back. But now we're being moved because of development....They're just clearing everything out. Like here, everything used to be wooded, but now you see nothing but big old canals and piles of dirt and dust flying. This field, next door, this was cleared just a couple of years ago. They just bulldozed the trees, all the vegetation, piled it up, and burned it."

Breathmaker's Law

In 1948 the State and the US Army Corps of Engineers embarked on a massive scheme to drain the wetlands of south Florida. It took

These changes have affected everyone in the region, but most harshly the Traditional Seminoles, whose subsistence way of life requires a healthy ecosystem and who have no land of their own to

destroyed it. Instead there's an orange grove there....The people who live here didn't damage this region. Somebody else came in here and did it. They made a mistake and they should correct the mistake they made." As Joe Podgor of the environmental group Friends of the Everglades put it, while the Seminoles find it harder and harder to get the cypress they need for their chickees, logging companies "are chipping cypress for mulch to put on your garden path."

The Traditional Seminoles consider themselves staunch environmentalists. "We are the guardians of the environment," Danny told me. "Whatever damages the earth and the water and the air and the animals and whatever, it concerns us....When we speak of the land and of nature and of the animals, you know, we're not just speaking for our own people or for our own children. We're speaking for all the next generation, no matter whether it's black people, white people, Spanish people, Chinese people....That's the Creator's law, the Breathmaker's law."

They are critical of the environmental behavior of the two federal tribes, and worried by the fact that hardly anyone distinguishes among the three groups. "What the tribes are doing is...corrupting our ways," Martha Billie told me one day. "Because we're Indians, they're Indians, and everybody thinks 'Indians are Indians.' I've heard them say that. So that's why we're trying to make us, our standards, noticed."

Few of Florida's environmental organizations are even aware of the existence of a separate, traditionalist group outside the tribes. But those who have worked closely with all three groups of Seminoles say there are deep differences among them. Fred Fagergren, a former Superintendent of the Big Cypress Preserve, often negotiated with the traditionalists and the two tribes about how the preserve should be run. "The tribes would tend not to object to developments they might

Building chickees for suburban homeowners is one of the Seminoles' main sources of income.



twenty years of steady work to complete the \$500 million labyrinth of canals, levees, drainage channels, pumps, and holding ponds. The system drains billions of gallons of fresh water daily from these wetlands and sends them down to the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, making them safe for farms, freeways, and housing estates.

In 1989 federal and state scientists warned fishermen against eating any freshwater fish caught in the Everglades. The fish have high levels of mercury, which is absorbed by sugar cane from the peaty soils in which it grows and released into the water during the post-harvest burning of the cane fields. Raccoons, alligators, and panthers in the area are also contaminated with large amounts of the toxic metal. In August 1991 mercury poisoning killed the last two female panthers known to live in Everglades National Park. Another problem is that as the flow of freshwater through the Everglades has been choked off, sea water has intruded into the ecosystem, damaging many species of plants, fish, and insects that cannot tolerate high levels of salt.

which they can retreat. "The elders talk about wanting to eat turtle soup or garfish," says Danny. "They haven't tasted those kinds of things in years. But nowadays, you know, everything is contaminated and polluted....Eating from the wild isn't safe anymore."

Ironically, the Traditional Seminoles are bearing the brunt not only of these injuries to the land, but also of the recent efforts to counteract them. In the name of environmental protection, landowners and state and federal officials have placed restrictions on subsistence activities such as building chickees, hunting, fishing, and even collecting plant materials for craft work. Commercial logging, road building, and land clearance continue at a prodigious rate, however.

"If we cut a few [cypress] poles, white folks criticize us," Martha Billie told me. "And I don't think that's right. Not too far from here, some Seminole people were cutting palmettos to make dolls—that's how some of the older people make a living—and the landowners chased them out of there. But now that palmetto stand is gone; bulldozers

have on their own land—oil and gas production for example,” he told me. “They don’t necessarily support development here; they just don’t usually object, especially when it’s something they allow themselves. The traditionals are much more conservation-minded. They would like to see as little development, as little use, as natural conditions, as possible. And, of course, a continuation of their way of life.”

Everything Changes

How best to ensure that continuation is still a matter of debate. Forty years of experience has convinced many members of the federally sanctioned Tribes that the Traditional Seminoles are correct in their belief that reservation life is incompatible with the Seminole way. Even Buffalo Tiger, who established the Miccosukee Tribe in order to get a reservation, told me in 1991 that living on a reservation has harmed his people. “I see so many things going wrong....I think the reservations are destroying the people. [With a reservation] the government will protect what you’ve got. But government will not only protect you; it will control you, take away your identity, little by

little. They grab a little bit at a time. Soon you don’t have much left....I really believe the Miccosukees did not go down the right path.”

The first casualty of reservation living, Danny Billie told me, is the Seminole tradition of communal life. “Seminole people are a family-oriented people. In the traditional way, they live in a village together and they work together. They provide for each other. If one person goes out on a hunt and kills a deer and brings it back, everybody shares. In our village, we help each other out in everything. On the reservation and in the non-Indian society, it’s every person for himself.” I asked Danny why they couldn’t continue their communal way of life as well on a reservation as off. He insisted they could not. “I know what you’re trying to say. You’re trying to say that you can live in the modern way and continue to think in the traditional way. That’s not true. The way you live affects the way you think.”

The basis of Seminole communal culture is the extended family working, cooking, eating, and spending time together in a village or camp. These villages have been replaced on the reservation by single-family homes. “Once they got into them, everything changed,” says Bobby Billie. “They’re kind of like independent people now; they all live in sections. Before, the whole family was there. Everyone visited each other. They would sit around and talk to each other all the time. The whole camp was like one house. Right now, hardly anyone comes out of their house to visit one another.”

Few young people on the reservation show any interest in Seminole traditions, according to Bobby Billie. “Most want to go the other way, the American way. The money’s more important to them, I guess because that’s what they teach them in school—how to make money, how to survive.” Already several generations of Seminole and Miccosukee Tribe members have come to maturity without really understanding their own culture. Seminole Tribe mem-

ber James Jumper, who is fifty-one and has a Master’s Degree in Human Administration, told me, “I have never had the privilege of learning about my own people, my own traditions, my own heritage as I should....I should be sitting down and talking to the medicine man today and saying, ‘Look, I need to learn something. Teach me. I’m ready to learn.’” But according to Iretta Tiger, a twenty-three-year-old Seminole Tribe member, Jumper’s sense of loss is not shared by younger Seminoles: “If you go on the reservation, hardly any of the younger generation speaks any Indian....A lot of the elders are upset about it, but the younger people just can’t be bothered.”

Lacking the safety net of the reservation welfare system, the Traditional Seminoles have been assiduous in finding ways to support themselves. As a result they are more independent than their counterparts on the reservation and many are also financially better off. They live mainly by subsistence hunting and fishing, gathering, and craft-working, though some work part-time in construction, as farm laborers, or at other paid jobs. Several of the Billie women, for example, work in Naples as hotel maids, driving forty minutes each morning to be at work at 6:30. “Myself, I’ve lived this way all my life,” Martha Billie told me. “I don’t know what’s hard or what’s not. This is the way I was taught and nothing’s hard for me. But the younger generation on the reservation, they live on the government’s money; they depend on the government’s money and without that I don’t think they can make it.”

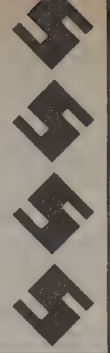
The Traditional Seminoles are not isolated from either the conveniences or corruptions of American culture. Most of their camps are rigged for electricity. Wood fires for cooking are supplemented by electric coffee percolators. Refrigerators are tucked away in the corners of cooking chickees. And, of course, everyone has television.

The attractions of the white

Danny Billie, spokesperson for the Independent Traditional Seminoles.



CATHERINE CAUFFIELD



world, of city life and alcohol, have caused some defections among the traditional Seminoles, but, said Danny, most have been temporary. "Maybe once in awhile we go out to the city and do things, but we know who we are. We know what our identity is. We know where we're from and we can't change that. People may move away for a while, but they come back. Like myself, I graduated from school and lived in the white world for awhile, but it just didn't work out because that environment is too materialistic. I wasn't suited to that kind of life."

In my visits with the Traditional Seminoles, they never tried to cover up or disguise the contradictions in their lives. I was surprised to learn that Bobby Billie, who as medicine man for the Traditional Seminoles is a leader in their struggle to live independently, lives on a reservation. He explained that after his marriage, following Seminole tradition, he moved to his mother-in-law's village, which happens to be on a reservation. The situation makes him deeply uncomfortable, and has confirmed his belief that reservation life is incompatible with upholding Seminole traditions. Once, when he and Danny and I were sitting around talking about the fact that Bobby's family lives in a trailer rather than a chickee, and cooks on a gas stove rather than over a wood fire, he said gloomily, "You can't get around it these days. We can't live the way we used to anymore." "Plus," added Danny, grinning, "the lady he's married to, she goes in the modern way." Bobby laughed, shook his head and said, "Yes, that's the biggest thing."

James Jumper agreed with the Traditional Seminoles that reservation life has harmed his people, but, like other members of the IRA Tribes, he argued that the only alternative is extinction. Jumper described the Traditional Seminoles' refusal to move to a reservation as noble, but suicidal. "Facts are facts. Reality is reality. What do you gain in going down fighting? You haven't gained anything. You could say it's

better to die on your feet than live on your knees, but there must be a middle way."

If there is a middle way for the Traditional Seminoles, it does not lie in private property. Tim Coulter told me this story: "We had been talking for years with the Traditional Seminoles about helping them recover land. Then, one day in 1979, when Guy was in Washington, he came to me very apologetically and said that he hoped I wouldn't be upset, but the traditional leaders really didn't want to own any land, that they believed it was wrong to own land. He felt, understandably, that as a lawyer I was only going to be thinking of ordinary title to the land, and yet the clan leaders are insistent that that isn't what they want. They just want a situation where they can live at peace in an area that is secure. He felt that it would somehow offend me that they wanted to do such a thing, so contrary to ordinary legal activity. But just the opposite—I felt like this was the best evidence that these are people with genuine traditional values, whose hearts and minds are in the right place. Their interest in land is solely an interest in their rights, their freedom to live as they choose."

I asked Steve Gleason of the Department of the Interior whether an Indian group had any options besides living on a BIA-managed reservation or on ordinary private property. He said no. But Curtis Berkey insisted that there were ways to meet the Traditional Seminoles' needs. "It's possible to have a land base that is not privately owned, that is set aside and protected by federal law and that serves many of the same functions that a reservation serves without having the BIA supervising it. It's not unprecedented; it's just that you need to be a little more creative in thinking about how the land's going to be set up....The BIA has the idea that it is the trustee of all Indians, everywhere, but there's nothing in law saying that Indians can't govern their own land and their own lives."

The Green Corn Dance

"In a way," Curtis Berkey remarked, "what we've been doing so far is fighting a defensive action. We've put most of our efforts into beating back all these attempts to extinguish the land claim. Those have been kind of emergency actions—immediate, urgent. You've got to drop everything you're doing. Even if you don't have the money to work on this, you've got to do the work. The ICC judgment was probably the last threat we'll have to face, and that was resolved last year. So the time is ripe to move ahead. Of course, now the Green Corn Dance is another emergency."

The Green Corn Dance is the supreme religious, social, and political event of the Seminole year. It is the core of Seminole culture. For four days each year, the tribe comes together to try serious crimes, to initiate young people into adulthood, to celebrate the most important rites of their religion in ceremonies kept secret from outsiders, and to pass on the tales that constitute their communal memory, the archives of Seminole life.

Each spring for 250 years, Seminoles have gathered to perform these ceremonies at the same place, a complex of prairie, cypress swamp, hammocks, pine forests, and creeks about twenty miles north of Lake Okechobee. Since Spanish times, cattle had grazed on the open lands in this region, but not until the 1930s did ranchers begin buying the land and fencing it off. More than fifty years ago, the Scott family became owners of a 3,500-acre parcel that included the Seminole ceremonial grounds. Charlie Scott proved a tolerant landlord: he ran cattle and grew tomatoes and other vegetables, but didn't otherwise interfere with the Seminoles' use of the site. With

"I know what you're trying to say. You're trying to say that you can live in the modern way and continue to think in the traditional way. That's not true. The way you live affects the way you think." —Danny Billie



his permission, they continued to hold their dances there, cut cypress and build chickees, hunt and fish, and collect food and sacred herbs during their annual four-day sojourn. In 1988, several years after Charlie Scott died, his heirs sold the property to a company called

Walker and Adams Ranch, Inc., which subdivided it, kept part, and sold the rest to several different developers. As one of the new owners explained to me, they were all under pressure to "make the place pay for itself somehow." Making land pay is a concept foreign to the Seminole philosophy, but one with which they have become famil-

iar as this land has been converted from wetland and rough pasture to citrus groves, blueberry ranches, and sod fields.

At the center of the Green Corn Dance is a sacred and secret collection of herbs, animal parts, and relics known as the medicine bundle. The medicine bundle is protected and kept by the medicine man, who also determines the dates for and presides over the Green Corn Dance. In 1953 Louis Capron, a resident of West Palm Beach who made an avocation of studying Seminole culture and is one of the very few outsiders ever to attend a Seminole Green Corn Dance, wrote "The Medicine Bundle is to the Seminole what the Ark of the Covenant was to the Jewish nation. The Medicine was given to him directly by God, and the Bundle contains everything necessary for the Indian's well-being....If the Medicine is allowed to die, as it can through several years of discontinuance of the Green Corn Dance, the life would pass out of the tribe."

I had heard the same thing both from the Traditional Seminoles and members of the two federally sanctioned tribes, one of whom told me, "Right now the main thing that makes Indians Indians out here is

the language and the Corn Dance. The main core...will be there as long as the medicine man is there with the medicine bag and calls the Corn Dance every year."

The Sacred Commons

One spring day I visited the dance ground with Danny and Bobby Billie and their nephew Victor. Even with no ceremony in progress, the central dance ground is a spectacular sight. About an acre in extent, it is surrounded by more than a hundred thatched chickees where the families, arranged by clan, live and eat during the ceremony. Beyond the circle of chickees is the land—once thousands of acres of woods, streams, and fields, now nearly all intensive farmland—from which the celebrants gather their food, medicines, and building materials. "We use the whole of that 3500 acres," Danny Billie told me as we sat in his family's chickee in the section devoted to their clan, the panther clan. "When we have a ceremony like that, we don't continue to get the things from the same land all the time until it's just gone. We go in a different spot this year, a different spot the next year, to keep it balanced."

We talked for a while about the ceremony: Bobby had just decided on the date for that year's Green Corn Dance. It was only a few weeks away and though I would have liked to have attended, I knew that even asking if I could come would be a mistake because of the Traditional Seminoles' strong feeling that it is a private ceremony. However, I did ask some questions based on what I had read about similar ceremonies held by the Oklahoma Seminoles. They answered—or rather parried—my questions politely, telling me what they could about the length of the ceremony, its main events, and their significance. Occasionally they balked. One question about their need to perform the dance in this vicinity caused Danny to say, rather uncomfortably, "I can't go too much into that. Really I can't go into it—especially with a woman. It's a law

with us, but it has to do with the medicine itself." Later, when asking about another aspect of the ceremony, I added "Is it OK for an outsider to know about that?" Danny sighed and said, "You're not supposed to, but everything's been written. I'm sure you'll be able to [witness the ceremony] one of these days....The tribes, they're taping medicine songs and videotaping how the people do it and all that, trying to publicize it, but, you know, that's not right. That's against our law."

The Traditional Seminoles are deeply distressed by this creeping commercialism. Often, says Bobby Billie, people who ask him about the traditional ways are motivated by material rather than spiritual considerations. "People on the reservation don't know too much about traditional ways, but once they learn, all they what to do is do [the dances] in public and teach and make books and sell it," he told me. For this reason, he is torn between passing on important knowledge and keeping it secret from his own people in order to protect it from commercial exploitation.

Leaving the subject of the dance and the shade of the chickee, we toured around the site. "We used to swim in there," said Bobby, pointing to a creek left dry by new drainage work. "There are no more creeks," Danny remarked. "Now there are only ditches because of all the drainage and irrigation." Passing a newly posted bright orange sign offering \$1000 rewards for information leading to the arrest of trespassers, we came to a series of citrus groves owned by a partnership of doctors and lawyers. A few years ago this was wetland; several years of draining and clearing were needed before it could be planted. The day of our visit, tractors with spray attachments were moving up and down the rows of young oranges, anointing them with pesticides. "You used to see a lot of birds and hawks and deer out here," Bobby said, as we watched. "You don't see them any more." Bobby pointed across the

"The Indian way will die
with the end of the
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—Bobby Billie

groves to a 600-acre cypress swamp that had not been drained and cleared. "We used to go through there and cut our cypress for our ceremonial grounds," he said. "But we can't go across there now, because there's a ditch and a fence blocking our way. Sometimes we see [deer] caught up in the fencing by their antlers; they can't escape and they starve to death there." Taking a circuitous route, we made our way to the surviving cypress forest and entered another world: the trees were heavy with bromeliads and orchids and dripping with Spanish moss; a shallow stream rippled almost imperceptibly as an alligator slowly shifted its position; egrets flew low through the trees; a tiny green tree frog jumped out at us. Bobby explained that there used to be big trees here, but they were logged some decades ago. "That's the famous saying in this region," laughed Danny, "—used to be."

A few weeks after my visit to the site, nearly 500 people—Traditional Seminoles and many others from the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes—gathered there to celebrate the Green Corn Dance. But the changes to the land and the restrictions imposed by the owners made it difficult to conduct the ceremony properly, Danny told me afterwards. "We couldn't collect firewood for our dances, and the herbs we needed have been pushed out by the citrus groves. The water holes and creeks have dried up since they installed the irrigation system, so we couldn't fish or bathe. Some of our chickees needed repairing, but the owners wouldn't let us cut any cypress or palm leaves to do that, even though they're storing chemicals and other things in chickees. So we had to bring all the poles and thatch in from outside and some people just had to camp in their cars." It is not only these restrictions that upset the Seminoles, but the changed nature of the site as a whole. "That is the most damaging thing in the world to us, because nature needs to be free," Bobby said. "That's what this ceremony is all about

anyway—being in a natural setting."

In 1991, for the first time that any of the Seminoles could remember, the owners actually intervened in the ceremony. "On a certain day we go out and cut two or three green pine trees for the fire," Danny told me. "While we were doing that, the son of the landowner and, I guess, his hired hand, drove up in their truck and said not to cut anymore, to use the trees they had bulldozed down that were piled up over there." With more anger than I had ever heard in his voice, Frank Billie took up the story: "We've been doing that for years and years in the same spot, cutting a few green pines, without damaging it. But you can see the damage they've done. There was a whole big pile of pines nearby, bulldozed down, some of them burned. In ten years we didn't cut as many pines as they cut in maybe two or three days to make that pile." Said Bobby, "We handle those things a certain way. They're not supposed to interfere, but they did. That's damaging our law; they don't respect our law." He added, sadly, that he now realized that he had to find a new place to hold the dance. "It's not right for us anymore. It's supposed to be a sacred ground, supposed to be left alone."

Each year during the dance, the medicine man must announce where the following year's ceremony will take place. Since there was no other place for them, Bobby Billie had no choice that spring but to announce that the 1992 Green Corn Dance would be held at the existing site, despite its increasing unsuitability as a ceremonial ground and the uncertainty as to whether the owners would in fact allow the Seminoles to hold the dance there again. That gave the Seminoles until the following spring to find a new Green Corn Dance ground.

With time running out for the Green Corn Dance—and possibly for the tribe itself, the Traditional Seminoles decided to postpone action on their land claim in order to concentrate on finding a new dance

ground. Their search would be difficult due to the lack of suitable land, the Seminoles' unconventional views on land tenure, and their small numbers and lack of money and political clout. The dance ground must be a wild, or nearly wild site; it must cover several thousand acres in order to provide the materials and privacy essential to the ceremony; and it must be within a particular area, just north of Lake Okechobee. There is a Seminole Tribe reservation near the present site, but for religious reasons, the Green Corn Dance must be on land that is "free." Land in the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not qualify as free.

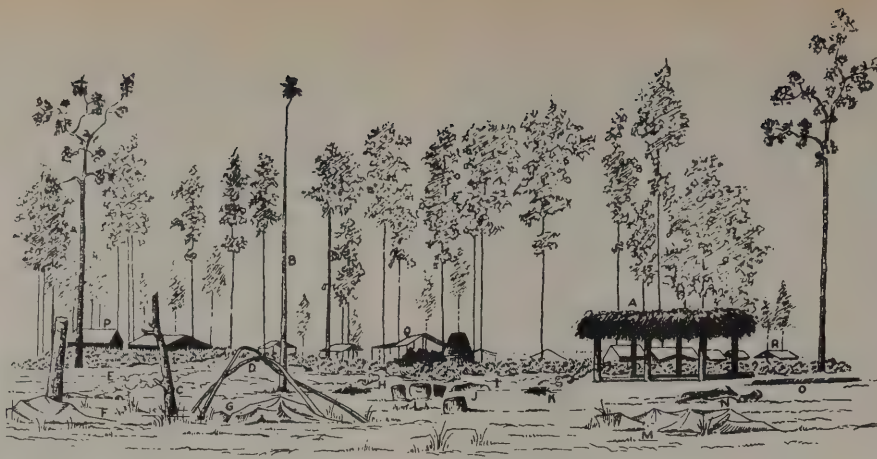
Assuming that a suitable site for the Green Corn Dance could be found, the next question was how to secure it for the Seminoles' use without violating their beliefs about land tenure. Even discussing such issues makes the Seminoles somewhat uncomfortable, but they realized that they had to come up with some arrangement that would not only satisfy their needs, but also those of the law and of potential benefactors.

Despite the many difficulties they faced in finding and securing a new ceremonial ground, the Seminoles seemed quietly confident that the Green Corn Dance would continue. When I asked what would happen if their efforts failed, I found no one willing to consider that possibility. "We don't think it's going to end," Bobby Billie told me. "The Indian way will die with the end of the world. If they kill the Indian way prematurely, the world will die with it. That's what we think, and that's what we're trying to explain to the country." He paused and looked at me. "But they don't know what we're talking about."

Partnerships for Survival

In February 1998 I visited the Traditional Seminoles again. This time, however, my purpose was not to learn about their problems, but to celebrate a rare victory. The Seminoles had finally found a permanent home for the Green Corn

Ceremonial ground, with camps on the horizon.



A SEMINOLE SOURCEBOOK, BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

Though there had been a Seminole community, living in chickees, in that area for generations—indeed since long before the county existed—officials claimed that they had only just become aware of its existence. Some observers believed that the Seminoles' spirited objection to the county's plans to put a landfill near where they live drew the county's attention.

Dance. In 1993 they were forced off the old dance site. With no alternative ceremonial ground available, Bobby Billie had not been able to call the Corn Dance for five years. It was a troubled period for the Traditional Seminoles, who attribute a variety of unwelcome events during those years to their inability to hold the dance.

The main task of the Traditional Seminoles during this period has been finding a new dance ground. In doing so, they faced three major problems: finding a place that met their needs in terms of location, privacy, terrain, wildlife, and availability; ensuring its permanent protection; and securing the land without compromising their principles. This last was the crucial question. Virtually all tribal land in the United States is owned by a tribe itself or is held in trust for it by state or federal government. The Traditional Seminoles would have no truck with either arrangement. They refused tentative offers by the state of Florida which had some suitable land and was interested in letting the Seminoles use it for their ceremonies. The Seminoles hoped, instead, to find a donor who would give a suitable piece of land to a trust that would protect it permanently and allow the Seminoles exclusive use of it. However, they wished to have no direct involvement in such a trust.

The search for donors was frustrating at first. No foundation willing to underwrite the launching of a fundraising campaign could be found; the Seminole Tribe of Florida wouldn't contribute to a Green Corn Dance fund on the grounds that land

has to pay its way, not be set aside for ceremonial reasons; and various land conservation groups, such as the Nature Conservancy, decided that working with the Seminoles was outside their domain. The first good news came in 1995 when the Lannan Foundation agreed to fund the purchase of land for the Seminoles' use. "The Lannan Foundation found us; we didn't have to find them," Tim Coulter told me. "And they've been the big boost that made it possible."

The search for a suitable site proved more difficult than the search for a benefactor. The Conservation Fund, a nonprofit group that specializes in land acquisition, acting for the Seminoles and the Lannan Foundation, identified a number of ranches that were for sale. Upon closer investigation, however, most proved to have some fatal drawback: one was next door to a planned landfill and several others didn't have the plants necessary for the Green Corn Dance. A few sites did meet the Seminoles' requirements, but negotiations always fell through. They made an offer for a ranch adjacent to their old grounds, but at the last minute, they were outbid by an agribusiness outfit.

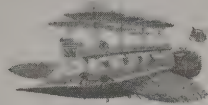
Never Left To Be

In the fall of 1995 the Seminoles' attention was diverted to a new and more pressing problem. Collier County officials decided that the Traditional Seminoles' chickees and outside cooking fires were in violation of the county's building code and threatened them with \$550 a day in fines until they were removed.

The Traditional Seminoles responded to this new assault with a federal lawsuit, accusing the county of attempting to enforce a building code "that is foreign and abhorrent" to Seminole religious beliefs and their traditional way of life. The Seminoles also embarked on a campaign to win public support for their position. Ron Sachs, who had just retired as press secretary to then-Governor Lawton Childs, offered to act as their adviser. With his help the Traditional Seminoles took their case to the public, giving interviews to the *Miami Herald*, *Tallahassee Democrat*, CNN, and other local and national press. They also organized a nation-wide petition campaign. Bobby Billie led a 750-mile-long march across the state, with hundreds of people walking all or part of the way from the Everglades to the state capital at Tallahassee.

"After about two or three months of that, almost everybody in Florida knew about this case," says Tim Coulter. "Maybe this is an exaggeration, but I think you could have stopped just about anyone on the street and asked 'What do you think about these Seminoles? Should they be able to live in the chickees?' and three out of four would have said, 'Of course they should; the county ought to back off and leave them alone.' We won hands down." In 1996 the county essentially sued for peace. Working with the Seminoles' lawyers, they came up with a way they could accept chickees under the existing law. It was, according to Coulter, "a genuine victory for the

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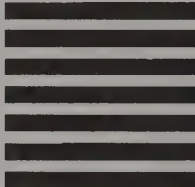
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preservation of Indian culture. The Seminoles explained their culture, asked people to respect it, and people did. It was very heartening."

Home

In October of 1997 a delegation of traditional Seminoles went to look at a 2400-acre patchwork of live oak, pine, grassland, wet prairie, cypress swamp, and river not far from their old dance ground. Over the years, the land had passed through the hands of various real estate speculators, but it remained substantially intact. Unlike most Florida ranches, this one had never been cultivated or planted with grass, and it was not cut up by fences, bridges, dikes, or canals. In December, the Indian Law Resource Center, with a grant from the Lannan Foundation, bought the first 1,750 acres, adding another 650 acres in February. The Seminoles found this land just in time. The neighboring landowner had also made an offer to buy it, but was outbid by the Center. When I was there in February he was completely clearing the adjacent parcel to plant grass for cattle. All day we could hear the whine of his tractor.

The Center is transferring title to the land to an independent trust that will own and manage it. The Seminoles will not sit on the board of the trust—they consider that too close to owning land, but they will have the final say over who is nominated for most of the seats. This is the first instance of a tribe securing a permanent site without the involvement of any government agency and without the taint of buying or owning the land itself.

To celebrate finding a permanent home for the Green Corn Dance, the Independent Traditional Seminoles put on a feast. About thirty Oklahoma Seminoles made the two-day drive to join in and a few non-Seminole friends and supporters were also there. Bobby Billie gave some of us a tour of the place. Having been spared the indignity of "improvement," the dance ground rejoices still in a plethora of plant

and animal life, including a wide range of birds, from scrub jays and sandhill cranes to bald eagles and ospreys. When I was there, white violets, fragrant pennyroyal, and red-flowered rabbit bushes were blossoming, and yuccas, launching their tall spikes into the air, were preparing to do the same. All year round, gray-green bromeliads hang from the trunks and branches of live oaks.

Entering the cypress swamp, we waded through rich brown water that came up to our thighs as we sunk deep into the soil. Around us bald cypress trees, cabbage palms shedding their criss-crossed bark, and four-foot-high ferns grew out of the water. We reached Fort Drum Creek, the river that feeds and flows through the swamp. Downstream, a snake bird took off in a fury of beating wings, flying low over the water. We turned to go back, gradually moving onto dry land where the peaty soil is covered with oak leaves and pine needles, and grape vines and young maples sprout up among the larger trees.

That evening, about sixty of us shared a huge meal—chicken, fried catfish, barbecued spareribs, fry bread, black-eyed peas, rice and beans, fried bananas, sweet potato puree, mashed potatoes, salad, and fruit, but no alcohol. Afterwards, Danny Billie gave a piercing whistle to silence us and asked us to introduce ourselves. Everyone gave his or her name, where they were from, and, in the case of the Seminoles, clan name. To great cheers, a youngish white man wearing a cowboy hat who is married to Eva Billie, said, "My name is Bill. I was born in Missouri. I live here now. I guess I'm in the hillbilly clan."

After the introductions, Danny Billie rose. "We've never done anything like this before," he said, "and it's been a roller-coaster ride, emotionally, for a lot of us working on this project. It's been hard because we've had to follow our

laws, and then, you know, we've had to deal with the outside world's rules and regulations."

He thanked Tim Coulter, who was there, and Curtis Berkey, who wasn't. Though Berkey left the center a few years back and was unable to attend the celebration, one after another his former clients remembered him and thanked him for his devotion to their cause. Also at the feast were a number of white Floridians who had become close to the Seminoles through the chickee campaign. One was a sixteen-year-old girl who, after hearing Bobby Billie speak at a chickee rally, founded the Youth Earth Action Group, which now has chapters in a number of schools throughout the state. Each one was thanked and applauded, as were the representatives of the Conservation Fund, and the Lannan Foundation, whom Danny Billie singled out for praise. "The Lannan family has been a special group. They got personally involved. When it was time to come down and walk the land, they came out and walked the land with us." Many of the Oklahoma Seminoles spoke of the inspiration they had taken for their own efforts from the success of their Florida cousins.

Toward the end of the evening, Bobby Billie rose and said in his soft voice, "I hope this land will continue the way it is forever. Having a ceremonial ground, though, is just the start. It's just one piece of the earth we're saving. We still have the rest to save." ⊕

Catherine Caufield originally wrote this piece for the *New Yorker* in 1991. She was paid, then the magazine dropped the story. Indigenous issues have fallen off the *New Yorker's* editorial screen. The story sat around until this year. With the securing of the Green Corn Dance

commons, Catherine offered us her manuscript with an update. Catherine wrote for us recently on the Yangtze River (*Whole Earth* No. 92) and wrote the first great book on the rainforest, which the *New Yorker* did serialize.



DEBORAH SCHAAF

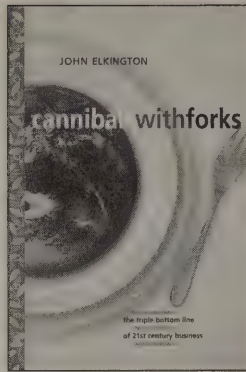
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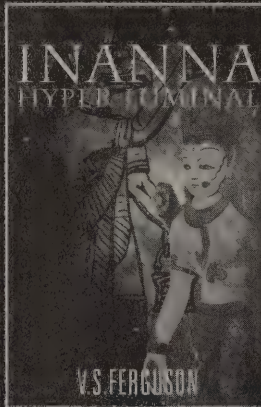
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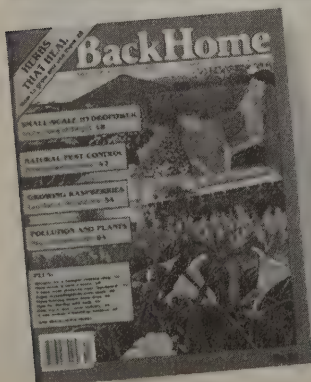
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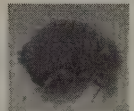
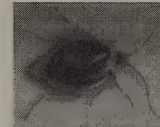
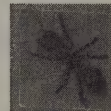
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ARTISANS IN THE GLOBAL BAZAAR

One assumes that, like flowers sprouting defiantly

between squares of pavement, handicrafts will always be among us; that despite globalization, industrialization and ubiquitous plasticization, artisans will continue to enhance our lives with individually-made objects. Trend pundits assert: high-technology increasingly drives modern householders to furnish our cocoons with "high-touch" products. These prophecies bring to the surface important questions. By whom and under what conditions will the products be made? Under whose design direction and involving what departments from traditional craft disciplines will handicrafts flourish? At what environmental expense or potential harm to workers?

Since the origins of trade, artisans have earned their livelihoods in a global economy, producing functional and ritual products for local markets as well as those tailored for export. Although global sales figures are nearly impossible to come by, the four basic markets—functional wares, traditional arts, designer goods, and souvenirs—generate tens of billions of dollars in export revenues annually; in some regions, crafts are thriving now more than ever before. Export figures alone placed global craft sales at thirty billion dollars in 1986, while actual total sales, including domestic markets could have been five times that figure, according to *Handmade Money* (see review, p. 83).



SHARON DRYFLOWER, KOSHARI BOY I, 1994. COURTESY AMERICAN INDIAN CONTEMPORARY ARTS, 23 GRANT AVENUE, 6TH FLOOR, SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94108.

What happens to craftworkers when the whims of cosmopolitan consumers re-cast the marketplace?

Dan Imhoff

Globalization and industrialization increasingly impact the artisan. Consistent work in sweatshops in cities and special economic zones casts a potent lure, drawing artisans away from cottage industries and farm fields. As Chip Morris, author of *Handmade Money*, writes, "If money were the sole aim, sweatshops would be the model of development."

For many artisans, creativity, spirituality, producer satisfaction, and folkcraft preservation often supersede monetary goals. While the industrial world places a dollar figure on a worker's labor, the artisan often functions in the bartering universe, where reproduction and labor time remain abstract values. "The aesthetics of craft," continues Morris, "may have no relation to its market value. Art and economics inhabit different worlds. They speak different languages, (beauty versus quality control). They have different goals, one spiritual,

the other mundane. And they meet at the feet of the artisan in the marketplace."

Supporters of artisans frequently find themselves walking a tightrope between craft and commodity. Some argue that sophisticated merchandising skills can make decorative art products more export-worthy (and polycultural), making way for increased consumption among the already overly-consumptive. Artisans don't need to be saved, the reasoning continues, but merely empowered. (This is a lot like hearing a famous environmentalist declare that the limited reintroduction of trophy hunting and the ivory trade is the only thing that can save the African

Out in the world with overtraining, wildcards, and late tools, ideas, and the wisdom of experience for human folk and every creature caught up in monetizing ecological, market & techno-spiritual affairs.

Community web can on the move.

Infrastructure meets ecostructure. Cooperation embraces competition. Is the pattern we now see emerging or fading? What should we do?

elephant. By sacrificing a few individuals each year, villagers could earn desperately needed income, and secure safety for the rest of the species. These ideas have merit.)

Fair Trade or Poor Business Aid?

Nonprofit Alternative Trade Organizations, or ATOs, emerged in post-World War II European countries to create markets for traditional craft guilds and spread to the United States in the seventies and eighties. Global Exchange, UNICEF, and Ten Thousand Villages are all examples of ATOs. Dr. Mary Littrell, a professor of Textiles and Clothing at Iowa State University, differentiates ATOs from large import retailers and even middlepersons who deal directly with artisans. ATOs' goals center on "trading with a difference, paying producers as much as possible rather than as little as possible." Littrell and Marsha Dickson report that ATOs return between thirty-three and forty-five percent of the retail price to artisan producers, compared to ten percent from mainstream retailers. The authors estimate the number of ATOs in

North America is around one hundred.

What happens to artisans when the promoted product loses favor amidst the changing whims of the marketplace? Or when the agency funding artisans decides to change its focus or loses its revenue source altogether? Without a guaranteed commitment to a group of artisans, or without skills in marketing, costing, and consumer trends, philanthropic trading efforts can have disastrous repercussions.

Witness the case of Guatemalan textiles, a rage in the early 1990s. Positioned too cheaply, and festooned on every imaginable accessory from wallets to backpacks to water bottle carriers, the market quickly became oversaturated. Artisans competed with each other for increasingly lower prices until the outlets for export dried up and then collapsed. According to one report, cooperatives in Guatemala are still owed upwards of \$100,000 by one U.S. fair trade organization whose sales operation went sour. And thousands of artisans have been left desperate with no market for their back-strap loom handiwork.

There are no simple solutions. Artisans are clamoring for work and markets, even if unrelated to folkcraft disciplines. Pre-paid contracts, the most secure arrangement, are rare, and long-term export markets can't be guaranteed.

High-end Soul Searching

For nearly a decade, British-born clothing designer Lynda Grose has worked with the Connecticut-based group Aid to Artisans, collaborating with craftspeople in Africa, the former Soviet republics, and Central and South America to produce a variety of clothing and home furnishings for local as well as for US markets. Her ability to identify contemporary color palettes and find new products which employ traditional skills and local materials helps build essential bridges between local producers and global consumers.

A color palette or sizing, for example, can make or break a product, yet seem arbitrary or fickle to an artisan. "The ill-proportioned Soviet-style sweaters have to be more contemporary or they won't sell," says Grose.

Left: *Small tray.* Lacquer on wood, 18th century. Nara Prefecture, Japan.

Miguel Martinez, *Platter with Oriental/Willow Motif.* Glazed earthenware, 18th century. The shape and manufacturing method of this platter are Spanish, the outer rim motif is Aztec/Mixtec, and the willow pattern in the center was probably inspired by popular 19th century English oriental designs.

Tradition is repetition of the old pattern and form, yes, but not only! This is merely the tool to be acquired. Without it you're bound to botch. Repetition, Attainment, and Overcoming are inevitable, but we have to be careful. While making a pot, if you consider the money it will fetch, you're already lost. The pot becomes merchandise, which gets between you and the clay. That's not tradition. I've shown you the technique, but the pot is there, because you've made it!

Tradition is the well in your pocket.

—Narui Tappo, potter, 1987



FROM THE UNKNOWN CRAFTSMAN (p.82)



SAN ANTONIO COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART

“And weavers need to understand how to design and color rugs for modern apartments, as well as for their traditional yurts.”

Grose views her job as a tremendous responsibility,

one that can affect local industries for years to come. In working with artisans, she looks for skills and crafts “where the soul shines through.”

But, “the low-end doesn’t recognize the soul,” she says. She targets the high-end, and advises artisans to cost out products so that they will sell when marked up six times (the conventional retail formula)—while still earning them a profit. A \$200 sweater at retail would earn thirty-five dollars for the knitter or weaver.

On one trip to Armenia, Grose worked in a co-op where artisans knit sweaters for teddy bears to be sold in the United States. “How ironic that Armenians barely have the money to clothe their families and we in the US are clothing toys and pets,” she remembers saying aloud to the cooperative’s project director, Aram Sharembayan. “We don’t see it that way at all,” he said. “Our perspective is, God bless America. This order means the difference between barely surviving and earning a respectable living.” At the time, the Armenian economy had imploded, along with the economies of many of the former Soviet republics. Without export, there was no market at all.

Artisans & Ecology

In 1998 Aid to Artisans established a special division called Artisans & Ecology to address ecological issues related to handicrafts. Artisans & Ecology, directed by Grose, actively pursues such topics as natural dyes as replacements for synthetics, lead-free glazes for ceramics, efficient

fuel sources for kilns, renewable raw materials, organic fiber resources, and a host of other considerations that impact artisans, their production methods, and the environment.

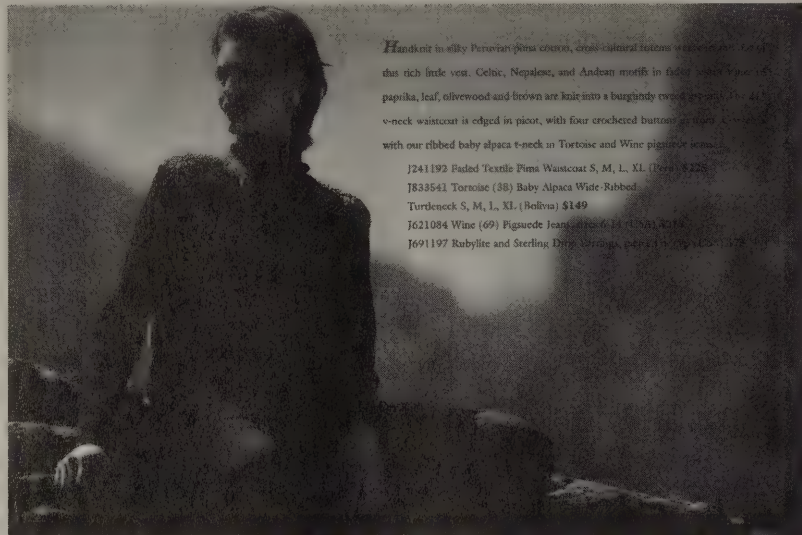
Seed-Sustaining Crafts

Nowhere are the crafts more integrated in a culture and economy than in Mexico. According to Chip Morris, an estimated ten percent of the population, approximately eight million people, are employed in the craft industry. Trader Barney Burns of Tucson-based Unknown Mexico discovered the ecological merits of international handicrafts lie in their ability to support indigenous farmers, preserve native plant varieties, and save forest lands. In 1969, Burns who is also an anthropologist, traveled through northern Mexico.

He was horrified by the plight of the Yaqui, Mayo, and Tarahumara Indians. Burns decided to carve out a US market for their traditional crafts such as rugs, baskets, and pottery.

On one of his many trips, Burns passed a place where mesquite groves had once covered the landscape. “All those trees were cut down to make charcoal, and at nearly no benefit to the local people.” He approached the Tarahumara Indians. “One tree cut for export,” Burns explained, “would earn just dozens of pesos, while the same tree converted into dozens of handcarved products could generate thousands.” He brought down carving tools and asked crafts workers to fashion salad sets, spoons and bowls out of the hard-to-work madrone. He bought every spoon they made, even when they were unsalable, then spent countless unpaid hours sanding them. Eventually the artisans achieved acceptable quality. (Most handicraft traders easily relate to this R&D story.) In at least three of the many villages where Burns regularly trades, handicrafts now constitute nearly thirty-five percent of certain villagers’ incomes.

In addition to better management of forests, Burns uses handicraft



Handknit in silky Peruvian pima cotton, cross-cultural textures of traditional Peruvian, Celtic, Nepalese, and Andean motifs in faded textile tones... paprika, leaf, olive-wood and brown are knitted into a burgundy tweed. The V-neck waistcoat is edged in picot, with four crocheted buttons at the collar. The turtleneck with our ribbed baby alpaca t-neck in Tortoise and Wine pigments.

- J241193 Padded Textile Pima Waistcoat S, M, L, XL (Peru) \$225
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“Artisans around the world typically purchase dyestuffs from the bazaar in bulk and with very limited information about their contents or safety. Conventional dyes often contain heavy metals and other toxic materials to achieve their particular colors.” She once watched a woman empty a tub of spent dye bath onto her garden bed. An increased demand for artisanal products would perhaps earn her more money, but in the end, would also increase her exposure to the health dangers and jeopardize others as well.

This work involves a lot of collaboration. On a recent research trip to Guatemala, Grose teamed up with two other organizations to link local artisans with farmers who could grow indigo organically: Grose identified crafts and products that could have local market or export potential; William Foot of the Cambridge, Massachusetts-based EcoLogic explored the prospect of financing farmers to grow the dyes; and Michelle Whiplinger of Color Trends, a Seattle-based nonprofit specializing in natural dyestuffs, laid the groundwork for regional indigo cultivation.

“Handknit in silky Peruvian pima cotton, cross-cultural totems weave in and out of this rich little vest. Celtic, Nepalese, and Andean motifs in faded textile tones... \$225” —PERUVIAN CONNECTION CATALOG.

[Editor’s note: “Pima” cotton is originally from Arizona.]

activism as a way to preserve biodiversity. A co-founder of the Tucson-based organization Native Seeds/SEARCH, he believes that providing supplemental income to farmers is an effective means to keep them on the land, an issue which gains importance all the time, as Indians are lured to the *maquiladoras* to assemble goods in foreign-owned factories. "Without people on the land the culture begins to crumble and the seeds which have been carefully selected for generations become lost."

Ironwood and Greenwood

Export demand for handicrafts—whether traditional craft or designer product—can deplete a local resource rapidly. Mexican ironwood carvings provide a well-known example. The trade initially started in the 1950s as a sub-cottage industry to earn supplemental income for the Seri Indians of Sonora. The Seri carvers, who at the height of their production numbered no more than fifty, soon exhausted local supply and began sourcing ironwood from Mexicans outside their area. By the early 1990s, at least four thousand non-Seris had opportunistically entered the market, producing highly refined sculptures in machine shops that mimic those of the Seri. The coastal populations of ironwood are now threatened by the popularity of an introduced folkcraft now widely imitated and mechanized.

In 1994 the US-based Certified Forest Products Council (CFPC) launched the Greenwood Furniture Project in a remote village in rural Honduras. Their hope was to stave off rampant deforestation by jump-starting a furniture industry. Acres of forests were often clearcut merely to retrieve a small number of the more valuable hardwoods, such as mahogany and cedar. By using lesser-known and underutilized species, the CFPC reasoned, they could provide more materials from the same acreage and begin to manage forest losses. The highly-skilled, yet low-tech method of green woodworking—

known as *bodgering*—might offer young men an employment alternative to slash-and-burn agriculture, cattle-ranching, and urban migration.

The local practitioners in the village of El Carbón were teenage boys, not yet burdened with the responsibilities of raising families. Curtis Buchanan—a Windsor chair maker from Jonesborough, Tennessee—and Brian Boggs—a Kentucky chair maker—soon had the students working on a simple ladderback chair design. They quickly became proficient at sharpening a draw knife, turning a table leg or chair spindle on a foot-powered bungee lathe, and tackling the essential art of joinery. Within weeks the boys developed a

massive challenges. Deforestation, often at the hands of desperate peasants, continues. And those woodworkers still applying their skills were recently unable to produce a complete shipment of chairs salable in the US. Scott Landis, a member of the Certified Forest Products Council, reports that while some of the chairs are of excellent quality, others are unacceptable. Consistent quality is the most vocalized concern among traders of handicrafts. The presence of a full-time supervisor or project director may be the only way to achieve it. The Greenwood Project's noble goal of "saving a forest by working in it" faces the harsh reality that even successful co-ops may not prevent forest loss.



SCOTT LANDIS

local market for a simple stool. A local hardwood species, *cola de pava*, with the approximate density of cherry, was soon identified as a readily available, regenerative source of wood.

Three years later, however, with considerable time and energy invested in training students in a number of villages, the project still faces enor-

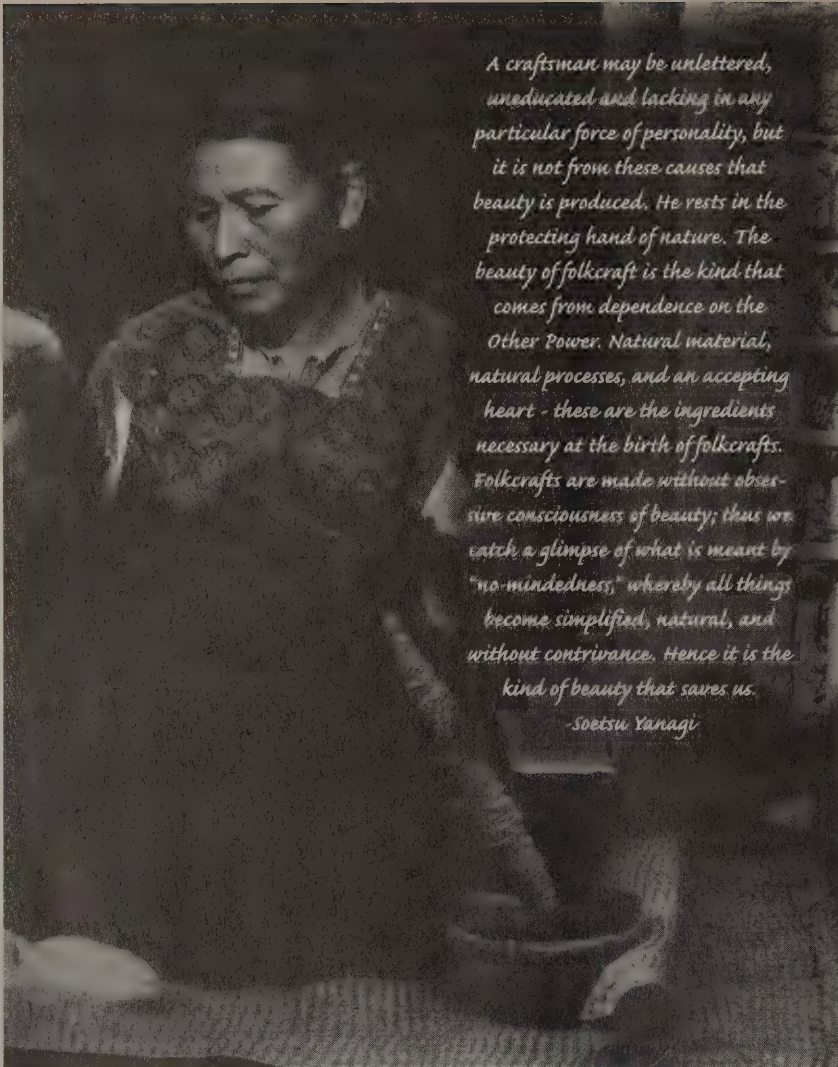
Speeding Up

"The more technology we acquire, the greater our need for things made by an individual," says Carol Ross, Director of Craft Marketing for George Little Management, which organizes and hosts gift shows throughout the United States. "And as mass merchandising be-

A Honduran woodworker fashioning a barstool from green wood.

Mayan woman working a traditional spindle. She started a successful Chiapas weaving co-op.

ANTONIO TUROK, LOXA HERNÁNDEZ DIAZ, WEAVER FOR SAINT ROSARIO, 1979. FROM CHIAPAS: THE END OF SILENCE. APERTURE, 1998 (SEE P. 94).



A craftsman may be unlettered, uneducated and lacking in any particular force of personality, but it is not from these causes that beauty is produced. He rests in the protecting hand of nature. The beauty of folkcraft is the kind that comes from dependence on the Other Power. Natural material, natural processes, and an accepting heart - these are the ingredients necessary at the birth of folkcrafts. Folkcrafts are made without obsessive consciousness of beauty; thus we catch a glimpse of what is meant by "no-mindedness," whereby all things become simplified, natural, and without contrivance. Hence it is the kind of beauty that saves us.
-Soetsu Yanagi

Below, left and middle: Sewers from the Golden Thimble cooperative in Kyrgyzstan stitch *shirdak*, traditional mosaic appliqué.

Below, right: Hiroko Naito, *hashi* (chopsticks) craftswoman.

comes continually consolidated, stores will seek more interesting and individual items to differentiate themselves." The Internet now connects local producers and markets through email, filling orders faster and faster for the whole spectrum of sellers: high-end

mail order catalog houses like Sundance and Garnet Hill, ATO-owned outlet shops like Ten Thousand Villages and UNICEF, small boutiques and museum shops, and mass retailers like Pier 1 and K-mart.

To accommodate demand, some

entrepreneurs build training programs into their business plans, so that a ready workforce of artisans can pick up the slack when the market decides that the hottest household accessory is a hand-carved Ghanaian door or a soapstone garden turtle. New machinery and assembly line methods boost output to achieve production goals. The craft crosses into the industrial and machine-minded world. (Factory crafts were pioneered by Josiah Wedgwood, who created beautiful, functional ceramic wares for the many by using mass production methods. His factory model is currently used for many high-quality items, such as musical instruments.)

Wes Baker, who runs a Southwest handicrafts importing business called Borderlands, has seen the Mexican metalworkers he trades with switch, in just a few short years, from traditional forging methods to modern welding torches and from hand-rendered operations to machine tin presses. Although mechanization and assembly line approaches speed up the process, they don't necessarily have to undermine the character of an item, or the satisfaction an artisan takes from making it. A decorative art possesses a certain honesty as long as the producer has had the ultimate hand in its crafting. A craft becomes industrial when the craftsman is merely managing the motor, or when all creative input has been delegated to some far-off entity, or more importantly, when the soul of the artisan is no longer recognizable in the item.

I once visited home weavers in the US who were knitting high-end sweaters. The handlooms were loud, ugly, and



LYNDA GROSE

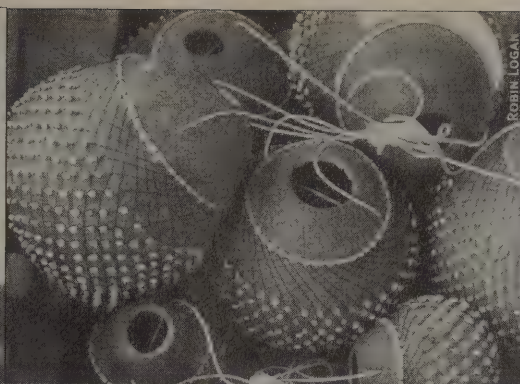


LYNDA GROSE





ROBIN LOGAN



ROBIN LOGAN



LYNDA GROSE

modern. Except for the economic independence the work afforded, and the undeniably "handmade" end-product, the knitting seemed pure drudgery—slam, sixteen! slam, seventeen!

☛ Into the Gray Zone

If all this seems chaotic, it is. One has to admire the spirit of the Navajo teenager who hawks "Navajo" jewelry to Japanese tourists along the Grand Canyon rim, even if it is actually imported from Taiwan and made with German reconstituted turquoise. And then there's China, with the world's largest industrial manual labor force.

Mushrooming international air travel skips the middlemen, bringing local producers and industrialized consumers closer together than ever in the global bazaar. Europeans and Americans, fleeing their mass-merchandised, mass-produced marketplaces, find themselves face to face with the artisans who have the ability to restore a human touch to their material lives. For boutique-oriented traders like Nancy Ramsey, who spent years building a jewelry import business with artisans in Mali, Niger, and Mauritania, the day of seeking out and trading for quality, unique items may have passed its zenith. "While the local craftpersons used to save their best items for people that regularly traded with them, they now reserve them for tourists, and for their relatives who go on to study at universities in the United States and arrive with a suitcase of the finest products ready for sale."

☛ Handicrafts as Economic Models

Even a quick study of the global handicraft industry, such as I've done here, points most significantly to what we don't know. How much of local economies is actually supported by crafts, and just what is the state of the artisan in the global market? Can handicrafts offer new models for future work paradigms the way Community Supported Agriculture has brought families and small-scale farmers together at our dinner tables?

While many insist that the global industrial (sweatshop) model is the only way to lift artisans out of poverty, there are many examples which demonstrate that handicrafts (which can offer at least part-time employment) can be and are more lucrative. Borderlands owner Wes Baker reports that the full-time Mexican metal workers he trades with earn more than twice as much as their counterparts in the *maquiladoras*: fifty to sixty dollars per week compared with twenty. Other evidence shows that crafts can indeed generate more income than sweatshops, particularly among the lowest income groups and women, who need it most.

The benefits of low start-up costs, flexible hours, and an artisan lifestyle have spawned a number of unique handicraft cooperatives in the United States. Randall Darwell produces a line of scarves and shawls for sale under his own label, setting up the colorways on the warp of the loom, then inviting his weavers to fill in the weft. Crispina French produces ragamuffin dolls, throws, and pillows

from re-used sweaters, which are washed, felted, and shredded, then given a new life as household objects. Cottage industries provide employment outlets in rural areas where opportunities for women are few and far between, and where flexible employment opportunities allow for the care of children, the infirm or aged.

One can be optimistic about the future of the handmade products while remaining pessimistic about the survival of traditional folkcraft disciplines, which, along with language, kinship, and small-scale farming, form the basis of local cultures, rooting us in nature and in place. As more countries develop, the demand for low-end and mid-level handicrafts will increase, requiring more artisans to satisfy that demand by adopting mechanized mass production. Artists both traditional and outsider will transform and imitate traditional crafts for the high-end individual art market (as many Native American artists have done). In the long-term, we may find our way back to the traditional crafts, crafts unsigned and unselfconsciously made for the people, by the people, cheaply and in quantity. As Chip Morris remarks about his adopted Chiapas, "Coca Cola doesn't dominate the way we think it will. Local crafts swing in fashionability in fifty year cycles. Chiapas is in a down cycle right now. The culture is undergoing massive changes. Sometime in the twenty-first century, however, it will become obvious that having an identity is important." ☛

Left: Zsilinski Andras of Hungary displays his specialty platter.

Middle: Traditional Ghanaian gourd shakers with netted seed coverings.

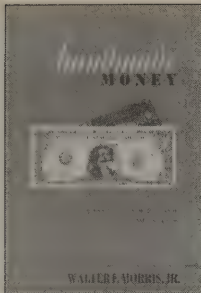
Right: Artisans from Kyrgyzstan display their dyed hands.

SOURCES:

SCOTT LANDIS, "OLD WORLD CRAFT, THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT: IMPORTING GREEN WOOD TECHNOLOGY TO RURAL HONDURAS," *WOODWORK*, 52, AUGUST 1998.

MARY LITRELL AND MARSHA DICKSON, "ALTERNATIVE TRADING ORGANIZATIONS: SHIFTING PARADIGM IN A CULTURE OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY," *HUMAN ORGANIZATION*, 56, NO. 3, 1997.





Handmade Money Latin American Artisans in the Marketplace

Walter F. Morris, Jr. 1997; 155 pp. \$20. Organization of American States, 1889 F Street, Washington, DC 20006, 202/458-3578, fax 202/458-6147, jirish@oas.org.

On the one hand, *Handmade Money* poetically explores the artisan's age-old dilemma between pursuing a traditional

craft and earning a living in the international marketplace. From a more pragmatic perspective, Morris analyzes the experiences of five different Latin American craft cooperatives, presenting valuable insights on how artisans have succeeded or struggled in their attempts to generate satisfying employment while striving to maintain cultural values. Concise, thoughtful, and instructive, this is fine work by the author of *Living Maya*. —DI

The Unknown Craftsman Japanese Insight into Beauty

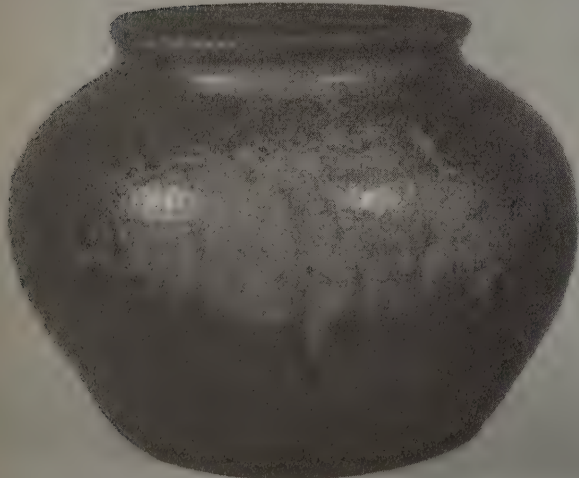
Soetsu Yanagi. 1972; 230 pp. \$32. Kodansha International.

Like a swift loving slap across the face.

The author is the founder of the Japan folkcraft movement—National Treasure craftspeople and all that. The translator is Bernard Leach, high lama of deep pottery and fifty-year friend of Soetsu Yanagi. The message is that simplicity and essence and material and use and utter craft are all facets of the same transparent core truth. That's so easy to forget that this brief book is rapidly acquiring a towering reputation.

—Stewart Brand in CQ No. 31.

Salt jar, stoneware with accidental ash glaze. Tamba ware, Hyogo Prefecture. Seventeenth century. Height: 11 cm.



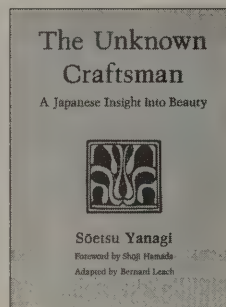
“Once artisans created everyday wares and works of art and no one minded the difference. Neither art nor industry has replaced artisanry as yet. Instead, each has assumed characteristics that originated within the craft tradition: creativity, technical skill, and serial production. Fine craftsmanship is a persistent form of praise reserved for skilled tool-makers and sculptors working in steel or stone. But craft itself is undervalued and its meaning obscure in the modern world. The nebulous definition of craft diminishes the commercial and artistic worth of the artisan's product.

“When a technological nation like Japan honors its masters of traditional crafts as ‘national treasures,’ it is a partial recognition of the bankruptcy of the industrial mode. When industrial corporate management is taking a closer look

“Why should one reject the perfect in favour of the imperfect? The precise and perfect...admits no freedom; the perfect is static and regulated, cold and hard. We in our own human imperfections are repelled by the perfect,

since everything is apparent from the start and there is no suggestion of the infinite. Beauty must have some room, must be associated with freedom. Freedom, indeed, is beauty. The love of the irregular is a sign of the basic quest for freedom.

“Rather than in precious and refined forms of art, it is amongst the odds and ends of things hitherto scorned or derided, amongst objects of unstressed and ordinary everyday life (*getemono*), that the norm of health may be found. By health, I mean to point at the honest quality, the form and feeling that is in full accord with use, which is the very seeing eye of craft. The bad handling of material, the over-complicated procedures of technique, over-employment of decoration, slick skills, one-sidedness of personality, over-self-consciousness—these are all forms of disease for the simple reason that they do not fit the purpose of use.



at worker dissatisfaction and low productivity and formulating principles based on individual needs, artisanry stands as a model. Technology promises a heaven where no one has to work, but in this life only the rich have leisure. The weavers of San Jolobil, the flower makers of Amano, and the embroiderers of Casem sacrificed income for free time. They may not know it, but they have won a battle for control over their lives.

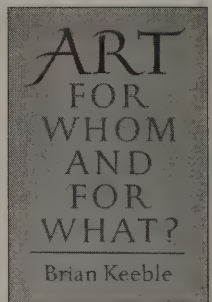
Art For Whom and For What?

Brian Keeble. 1998; 169 pp. \$29.95.

Golgonooza Press. Available from Sophia Perennis 343 Route 21 C, Ghent, NY 12075, 518/672-4323, fax 518/672-5242, perennis@taconic.net.

Wendell Berry recommended this philosophical treatise on what traditional crafts mean to human societies spiritually, culturally, and environmentally—that alone is reason to read it. In the tradition of Blake, Ruskin, Morris, and Gill (among many others), Keeble weaves an intricate case for the traditional crafts as the only thing that can restore meaningful work and save us from globalization and industrialization. In a series of challenging essays and meditations, he argues passionately for the intrinsic values and cosmic functions of craft disciplines. “The anachronism of the crafts,” he concludes, “is achieved at the cost of our own disfigurement.” —DI

“Stella Kamrisch...says that according to traditional Indian belief and practice, every creature has a function (actually a craft vocation) which is fulfilled in the universe and deviation from which ‘might even endanger the order of the universe.’ This suggests that if the crafts have become an anachronism in our time this is not due to any inherent weakness or fault in the crafts themselves, but that we have assigned them a status that is considerably beneath the full dignity of their normal function.





TM

Aid To Artisans

14 Brick Walk Lane,
Farmington, CT 06032,
860/677-1649,
atausa@aol.com.

A nonprofit organization dedicated to creating economic opportunities for crafts people in under-developed communities around the world. **ATA** provides design consultation, onsite workshops, business training, and the vital market link so that products can be sold. Some photos in this article come from the **Aid to Artisans International Folk Art Calendar**.

Artisans and Ecology

30 Homestead Street, San Francisco, CA 94114,
415/641-9135, fax 415/647-6715, lyndagr@aol.com.

Originally funded by the MacArthur Foundation, **Artisans & Ecology** is a separate division within Aid to Artisans, directed by Lynda Grose. Works on ecological issues associated with artisans.

Ecologic

PO Box 383405, Cambridge, MA 02238-3405, 617/441-6300, fax 617/441-6307, spaul@ecologic.org, www.ecologic.org.

Dedicated to reducing destruction to Central American tropical ecosystems through economic development and self-determination initiatives. Gives financial and technical support to local groups.

Certified Products Council

14780 SW Osprey Drive, Suite 285, Beaverton, OR 97007-8424, 888/737-3877, fax 503/590-6655, cfpc@ix.netcom.com, www.certifiedwood.org.

Founders of The Greenwood Furniture Project in Honduras, they offer a variety of services to assist companies, organizations, and craft workers in using Forest Stewardship Council-certified products.

Fair Trade Federation

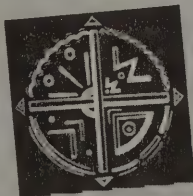
PO Box 390487, Mountain View, CA 94039, 408/366-8909, ftfok@fairtradefederation.com, www.fairtradefederation.com.

Association of fair trade organizations, producers, retailers, and wholesalers. Access to information on international fair trade issues.

The Fund for Folk Culture

PO Box 1566, Santa Fe, NM 87504-1566, 505/984-2534, fax 505/984-8619, folkfund@aol.com.

Grants for grassroots culture and folk arts traditions in the United States and its territories.



Color Trends

5129 Ballard Avenue NW, Seattle WA 98107, 206/789-1065, fax 206/783-9676, earthues@aol.com.

Introduces artisans and industry to the ecological and aesthetic benefits of natural dyes. Markets natural dye extracts, and supports cooperatives through the purchase of natural fiber textile products and consulting work. Limited wholesale and retail products available from brochure.

DOBAG: Natural Dye Research and Development Project

3319 Sacramento Street, San Francisco 94118, 415/921-4180, dobag@hooked.net, www.returntotradition.com.

DOBAG reintroduced traditional natural dyeing techniques to a group of weavers in Turkey. Their profit-sharing cooperatives produce carpets sold via catalogue and at the Return To Tradition store in San Francisco. Also the subject of the book *Return To Tradition: The Revitalization of Turkish Village Carpets* by anthropologist June Anderson (1998; 88 pp. \$24.95. University of Washington Press).

Global Exchange

2017 Mission Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94110, 415/255-7296, fax 415/255-7498, info@globalexchange.org, www.globalexchange.org.

Promotes fair trade through campaigns, "reality" tours, and educational materials. Retail through an online catalogue and two Bay Area stores.

Hot Knots and Tara Handknits

940 Samoa Boulevard., #208, Arcata, CA 95521, 707/822-7562, fax 707/822-7512, hotknots@reninet.com.

High-quality handmade sweaters designed by two sisters and produced by cooperatives in West Virginia and Nepal. Wholesale only.

Indigenous Designs

219 Buckeye Street, Unit B, Redwood City, CA 94063, 650/568-7360, fax 560/364-4187, eco@indigenousdesigns.com, www.indigenousdesigns.com.

A clothing retailer working with artisans in India, Transylvania, Ecuador, West Virginia, Armenia, and Peru. **Indigenous Designs** specializes in natural fibers, such as organic cotton, wool and linen, hemp, and post-industrial fabric scraps.

Peruvian Connection

Canaan Farm, PO Box 990, Tonganoxie, KS 66086, 800/255-6429, fax 800/573-7378, peruconn@aol.com, www.peruvianconnection.com.

Luxury fiber knitwear designed in the US and produced by contractors in Latin America (by individuals and in factories). Retail catalogue.

Ten Thousand Villages

704 Main Street, PO Box 500, Akron, PA 17501-0500, 717/721-8400, fax 717/859-2622, consign@villages-mcc.org, www.villages.ca.

A Mennonite-run organization representing the work of more than 35,000 craft producers in 35 countries. Goods are sold through a wholesale catalogue as well as through over 200 volunteer-operated handcraft stores throughout the US.

Unknown Mexico

3950 West New York Drive, Tucson, AZ 85745, 520/743-0670, fax 520/622-5591.

Arts and crafts of all kinds from indigenous groups (Yaqui, Tarahumara, and Mayo) in Mexico. Wholesale.

Borderlands

414 North 5th Avenue, Tucson AZ 85705, 520/622-6454, fax 520/622-8288, border@goodnet.com, www.goodnet.com/~border.

Tons of handcrafted Mexican furniture and folk art, bought with conscience. Wholesale.

Four Winds

2851 North Silver Spur Drive, Tuscon, AZ 85745, 520/622-7536.

Imports handmade leather goods from artisans in the souks of Marrakech. Wholesale.



In front of the eyes of the capitalist is the word "profit." The quality, beauty and the health of an object are all secondary considerations. Greed for profit is destructive of both use and beauty. In addition, under capitalism, craftsmanship leans away from human hands towards machinery. As a consequence, beauty loses its sensibility and more and more trends toward hardness. This bad influence unconsciously affects every man's heart.
-Soetsu Yanagi



GLOBAL  EXCHANGE



Shady and Slick, the US Congress Slides into Scratch-My-Back Politics



Hidden Riders

BY WHOLE EARTH WITH GENEROUS INPUT FROM JOHANNA WALD, ERIC GLICKENSTEIN, SHARON BUCCINO, GREENLINES, AND JAY LEE

Hopefully, most Americans learned that there are two kinds of bills in Congress: authorizing and appropriation. Authorizing bills lay out the laws of the land. Appropriation (“approps”) bills fund authorized projects or the federal agencies that put our laws to work.

Congress has two voting opportunities to kill a bill. It can reject an authorizing bill on its merits, or, less honorably, it can refuse to fund the bill it has just passed. The 104th and 105th Congresses have championed, with a shameless enthusiasm, an even less upstanding strategem: attach authorizing legislation onto an approps bills where it can hide and “ride” within an otherwise acceptable spending bill.

Approps riders are typically political patronage projects (like a road through a national park) or legislation so unpopular that it would easily fail as stand-alone laws (e.g., postponing all new listings of endangered species). By burying them in an approps, Congress can avoid public discussion, committee hearings, attentive viewers of CSPAN, and press attention. Riders appear and disappear so fast and jump bills so swimmingly that citizens can’t find them, let alone debate their implications or contact their congressional representatives. But, best of

all, they allow a member of Congress to vote for the rider with a plaintive wail: “We had to pass the appropriations bill. We had to take the bad with the good.”

Rider aficionados hunt out bills with deep emotional puissance. When Americans want to help fellow

citizens in trouble (like the families of the Oklahoma City bombing or flood victims), then the emergency funding bill transmogrifies from compassionate aid to the slickest, most cagey venue to sneak in a stealth rider. Or, wait until Congress is just ready to call it a year and the Omnibus Bill comes along with all the items Congress forgot to fund. It’s easy to lose a rider in any approps bill, but Omnibus Bills are especially pudding stone. Or, as in 1996, wait until the government has no money. During the panic, tuck your rider in a “continuing resolution,” which is needed to keep Congress and the rest of the beltway humming.

Here’s a wee taste from the pork barrel:

● The Senate Interior Appropriations Bill included: the Izembek “Golden Gravel” Road rider, which authorizes the first road through a wilderness area; the Tongass National Forest rider which overrides any sustainable logging program; the National Forest Planning rider which de-funds (stops) all forest plan revisions; the Grazing on Public Lands rider which re-issues grazing permits without environmental review; the Trees-for-Stewardship rider which requires that restoration be funded by logging more trees; the Land Acquisition rider which stops the purchasing of inholdings surrounded by public lands in Alaska; the Oil Royalties Rule which exempts the industry from a rule requiring it to pay \$86 million in royalties; the Snow Basin Road rider which mandates \$14 million for a three-mile road to a ski condo; the Glacier Bay rider which prevents the phasing out of illegal commercial fishing; and a half dozen more which prevent management of salmon and the spotted owl, and block reintroduction of grizzlies in Idaho and Montana.

● In the 104th, Congress tacked a “salvage rider” onto an emergency bill to help Midwestern flood victims. It exempted thousands of acres of old growth from all Forest Service procedures, locked out public input, and nurtured

People with appetites
for laws or sausages
should watch neither
being made.

— Prince von Bismarck

a spasm of logging without any of the laws.

● The 1996 government shutdown occurred, in part, because Congress tacked so many anti-environmental riders on an appropriations bill that the President refused to sign it. In private, without public debate or knowledge, the administration and Congress horse-traded some riders into law and took others out.

● Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM) wanted to help developers in new Albuquerque suburbs by widening the highway through Petroglyph National Monument. Taxpayer input and an environmental impact statement might show that the road was unnecessary. To avoid public input, he simply wrote (or maybe the developer wrote) a special rider that exempted the road from all federal laws (historical and environmental). These special exceptions, where Congress simply declares that a specific project has, in its eyes, fulfilled all the necessary study and review on environmental laws (known as the "sufficiency" declaration) are probably the most anti-democratic acts of rider-mania.

Not every rider is anti-environmental:

● This April, Representative Chris Smith (R-NJ) attached a rider to HR1757, the bill to pay the UN arrears and fund the IMF. The rider cut off federal aid to family planning organizations that perform or take a public position on abortion, even if done with the organization's own funds. The bill passed the House and Senate, but the President said he would veto the whole bill and send it back to Congress to "clean" it.

The list goes on.

Underhanded Governance

"Underhanded governing," to use Donella Meadow's phrase, has spawned:

● Hush-hush politics. No transparency and no debate in committees, press, or local arenas. Curtailed education, truncating the ability of citizens and Congress to make informed actions and vote thoughtfully.

● Back room and closed-lunch dealing. Various riders have actually been written by lobbyists and their law firms for members of Congress. Citizens cannot discover (except through moles) how the rider came to be (through which lobbyist) and how it got axed or kept in executive or Senate/House negotiations.

Since environmental legislation has been trashed more than any other, the gladiators for good government are predominantly enviros. Eric Glickenstein, one of the best and most effective eco-warrior lawyers, more often than not ends up battling for a more democratic process. He won a case, for instance, in the Ninth Circuit requiring astronomers desiring to cut old growth for telescopes to follow the National Environmental Policy Act and the Endangered Species Act. Congress then passed a rider saying the Court was wrong. The telescope site was exempt from all congressional laws (see *Whole Earth*, No. 91). In other words, for the first time, Congress has begun to use riders to micro-manage Court decisions.

So far the Supreme Court allows Congress to do as it pleases. The Court claims: Congress is free to make and break its own laws as long as it knows what it's doing. Eric has argued: without committee hearings or floor

debate or stand-alone legislation, what does it mean to say that Congress clearly knows what it's doing? The checks and balances system has begun to emphasize lucrative checks and less balance.

Members of Congress act as if democracy and "the process" suck. They admit that no debate takes place and committee hearings don't transpire. They bemoan the legislative process as so cumbersome that riders have become the most efficient way to deliver gifts to the home districts (and, unspoken, to campaign financiers). More disingenuously, they argue that riders can control runaway federal agencies. Eric mimics a senator: "Just write me a rider. I'll splice it into any ol' bill. The story's written."

Remedies?

Procedures for tacking riders on an appropriations bill are governed by Congressional rules. What goes into authorizing vs. appropriations bills is not dealt with in the Constitution and, without much case history, it is difficult to challenge Congress in court. Occasionally, the president will publicly balk. Clinton said any bill with a "pave-the-parks" rider would be vetoed. Any president could say: "Any riders, I'll veto the whole bill. Read my lips: Democracy starts with open discussion, and the right of everyone to be heard." Instead, recent presidents have simply allowed members of Congress to load up bills with riders and then, outside public view, the executive has bargained with the committees. The public can only guess why the rider was rejected or accepted.

Congressman Henry Waxman (D-CA) tried to piggy-back his own rider on the Mandates Information Act. It would allow a member of Congress to call a point-of-order on any bill that weakens safety, health, or environmental standards. The point-of-order would require a floor vote. It would expose which members of Congress favored the rider and which opposed it. (Waxman also has a stand-alone bill on the same subject.) But just as the Congress has a weak desire to curb campaign financing, it cannot bring itself to curb special-interest riders.

Americans sometimes self-righteously frown at Mexican *mordida* politics in which a citizen or groups of citizens promise a legislator a piece of the pie or a little help on his next favorite project. *Mordida* means "little bite." Sure, we know that participatory democracy is always muddled and full of shirkers and scammers. But, this recent rush through a procedural loophole brings us close to what Americans have scorned in Mexican politics. Riders triumph with no reprieve in courts, laws, or congressional rules. The only court that remains is the court of public opinion. ⊕

The Wilderness Society

202/833-2300,
www.wilderness.org.

Covers riders in their online *Washington Report*.

Greenlines

To subscribe:
www.defenders.org/gline-h.html.

Tracks riders daily via email from GREEN (the GrassRoots Environmental Network), reviewed in WE No.93.

Johanna Wald and Sharon Buccino work for the National Resources Defense Council (212/727-2700), Eric Glickenstein is co-partner in Meyer and Glickenstein, and Jay Lee works for GREEN.



The -stans of Central Asia

THE TURANIAN BIOREGION



By Eric Sievers

In Central Asia—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, all former USSR republics—Europe and Asia meet, Islam and Christianity intersect, and West (North) and East (South) coexist. Central Asia's mountains and deserts are huge, teeming with snow leopard, hyena, argali, and hundreds of endemic plant and animal species. It is one of the most biodiverse regions on the planet. And, no less important, its people, representing a boundless spectrum of languages and nationalities, are capable of magnificent feats of song, feast, insight, and hospitality.

The “-stans” were the northern claim of Alexander the Great's conquests (even today, many Tajikistanis claim descent from Alexander), part of Chinggis Khan's empire, the heart of Tamerlane's realm and, through Babur, the source of India's Moghul Empire. The Silk Road wound through the ancient cities of Samarkand, Bukhara, and Khiva, which boast wonderful mosques, madrassahs, and monuments.

As Central Asia moves away from its submersion in the USSR, it both embraces the West and becomes more nationalistic, attracts foreign investment, and resists democratization. The five countries of the region and a host of internal and external commentators wonder what the future of

Central Asia will be. Inextricably linked to the question of “What will be?” are the often-overshadowing questions of “Who are we?” and “What happened?” Regarding the (non-immediate) future, Central Asians are in consensus in wishing for economic growth, democracy, rule of law, and social harmony. Right now, the history that is of most interest to Central Asians is the pre-Soviet past. Uzbekistan's government, for instance, has made a concerted effort to produce histories painting Tamerlane as a champion of civil society and social issues.

To accept modern Central Asia is to accept contradictions. Here are ten facts to get you started.

1 Central Asia has the third largest oil and gas reserves on the planet. While Uzbekistan is largely self-sufficient in hydrocarbons, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan will be major exporters of oil and gas. Yet, all the Central Asian states are undergoing processes of social stratification that make me suspect that these future petrodollars will not mean much for most people in the region.

2 Central Asia is immense—roughly half the size of the continental US. Since Central Asia is usually viewed on maps of the former USSR, Russia distorts the immensity of the region. Indeed, Kazakhstan is one of the ten largest countries in the world. Accordingly, the range of ecosystems and terrain, and the distances and difficulties of travel lend

the region a character unknown to any other post-communist region, with the exception of Russia.

3 Central Asia is industrialized and has European levels of literacy and university education. Nearly universal literacy accords the region a potential that its neighbors to the south and east do not have. Most people in the region are bi- and trilingual, although for obvious historical reasons, there are few English speakers. Moreover, following Soviet norms, a very large number of the college-educated are engineers, doctors, and scientists.

4 Central Asia is the site of two of the four worst Soviet environmental disasters. Semi-palatinsk in Kazakstan was the main nuclear test site in the USSR, and fallout from its tests (nearby settlements were not evacuated) is blamed for health problems in Kazakstan, Russia, and beyond.

More dramatic, however, is the rapid desiccation of the Aral Sea on the border of Kazakstan and Uzbekistan. Wasteful and immense irrigation projects (largely for cotton) diverted waters from two rivers (the Amudarya and Syrdarya; aka the Oxus and Jaxartes) which feed the Aral, once the fourth largest inland body of water in the world. As salts accumulate and the sea recedes, health effects in the Aral region have been disastrous. On the other hand, the Caspian Sea (the largest inland body of water in the world) is rising, flooding residential and industrial areas and creating new pollution dangers.

5 Central Asia has a rich history as a birthplace of higher mathematics and modern medicine. In the medieval period, the region's scientists, legal scholars, historians, and poets were among the greatest in the world. Among these were Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Farabi, Ulugh Beg, and Muhammad b. Musa al-Khuwarazmi, who made important contributions to medicine, physics, mathematics, and astronomy.

6 Central Asia is crucially located between Russia, China, Afghanistan, and Iran. Geopolitically, Central Asia engages the whole world. How independently it can operate from Russia, what it has to fear from China, to what degree it can remain separate from Afghanistan's conflicts, and whether it will be able to transport hydrocarbons through Iran are only some of the



H. KRAFFT, FROM *UZBEKISTAN: HEIRS TO THE SILK ROAD*

9 Central Asia is arguably the most secular, westernized part of the Islamic world. While the region is largely Islamic, for the bulk of the region's inhabitants Islam is a cultural identifier, not an ideology. Islamic law is nowhere threatening to replace civil law, and society in general is tolerant of a range of behavior and practices not so tolerated in other Islamic areas. In this way, Central Asia's



Women in typical urban veiling clothes, veiled and unveiled. Turkestan, about 1900.

key questions being resolved now in the region.

7 Central Asia is a major source of cotton, uranium, and many precious and non-ferrous metals. While the region has substantial industrial infrastructure and an educated populace that could support service industries, local eyes are focused primarily on exports of natural resources and ensuring agricultural self-sufficiency.

8 Central Asia voluntarily relinquished its Soviet nuclear arms, but still has nuclear capability. While some Central Asian places and practices situate the area clearly in the developing world, Central Asia also holds military and civilian monuments and hardware that serve as reminders of the unique history and potential of the region. Among these is the nuclear power plant on Kazakstan's Caspian coast that desalinizes water for human consumption, and two more planned nuclear plants in Kazakstan.

recent re-entrance into the Islamic world could bridge current gulfs between the West and Islamic states.

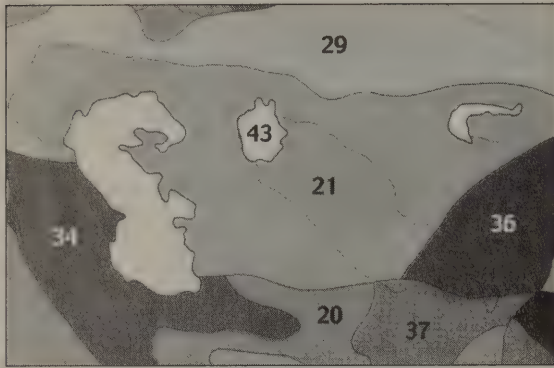
10 Central Asia suffers developmentally from being overshadowed by Russia and Eastern Europe.

While the post-communist world receives European and American aid to facilitate the transition from communism, Central Asia has pulled the short straw in the distribution of such assistance, especially assistance related to environment and civil society. Even worse, with the exception of the Soros Foundations, private organizations in the West have almost entirely ignored the region, preferring instead to work in richer and more European states such as Russia, the Czech Republic, and Poland. ⊕

Eric Sievers emailed all this to us while on the road in Kazakstan, a much-appreciated feat. He is executive director of Law and Environment Eurasia Partnership (see p. 90), and is an MIT Ph.D./Yale J.D. Candidate. His years in Central Asia include work as a USSR-era interpreter and, later, on several post-Soviet development and legal projects. Eric is seeking a publisher for *The Last Soviets*, an analysis of private democratic associations and development assistance in Central Asia.



Biogeography of the Lower Turan



Peter Marshall

with generous assistance from
Oleg Tsaruk and Eric Sievers

The Bioregions of Central Asia

(adapted from World Biogeographical Provinces map,
Miklos Udvardy, 1975)

- 21: Turanian cold-winter desert & semi-desert
- 29: Pontian steppe (temperate grasslands)
- 20: Anatolian-Iranian desert
- 36: Pamir-Tien-Shan Highlands (complex zones)
- 37: Hindu Kush Highlands
- 34: Caucaso-Irian Highlands
- 43: Aral Sea

and the highest peaks in Eurasia. As in the Great Basin of the US, the rivers have no outlets to the sea. (The Irtysh in northeastern Kazakstan is an exception, parallel to the Colorado.) Most rivers simply dry out en route or spill into valley bottoms. We call our land-locked lakes the Great Salt Lake, Mono Lake and Pyramid Lake. In the Turan Basin, two lakes, the Caspian and the Aral, are so big that they are called "seas." The Caspian is the world's largest and the Aral the fourth largest lake. The planet's fifteenth and twenty-seventh largest lakes (Lakes Balkash and Issyk-Kul, which is also the fourth deepest lake) dwarf the Great Salt Lake.

Just fifty years ago, this part of Central Asia sported mighty rivers and fabulous floodplains and deltas that kept the inland water bodies from turning overly salty. The Amudarya and Syrdarya Rivers flow into the Aral; the Ili and Karatal flow into Lake Balkash; and the Volga, though it originates outside the Turan, feeds the Caspian, raising or lowering its shoreline. Soviet-inspired agricultural development diverted the rivers for cotton and wheat oases (a familiar story to Colorado River inhabitants), shrunk the seas and lakes, and transformed the Aral into the most endangered inland water body on the planet. People there suffer from

the "dry tears of the Aral," and throat cancer rates and infant mortality soar from dust and salt storms.

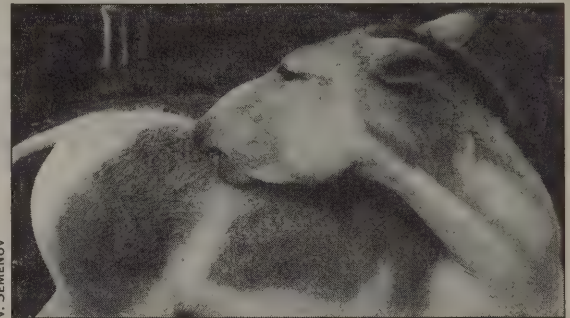
Turanian plant life, which evolved in the Mediterranean floral complex, spread into Central Asia and, in the 1800s, to Utah and Nevada in sheep wool and grass seed. These tough plants share coevolutionary history with domestic livestock. In both the Great Basin and the Lower Turan, single small shrubs or patches of shrubby plants, sand dunes, grass steppes, salt-bushes and sage brush, bunch grasses, and even tamarisk and cheat grass thrive. River channels on both continents share genetically related plants

CENTRAL ASIA is an enclosed basin, bordered on the north by desert and steppe, on the east and south by mountains, and by the Caspian Sea on the west. A year in Utah or Nevada evokes the Lower Turan Basin: the winters have that same inland, north-sourced wind-chill, the longing for a very distant ocean. The summers are unbearably hot and reenforce parallels between the US Mohave and the Central Asian Karakum, Kyzlkum, and a dozen smaller deserts. The weather is highly irregular, and citizens on both continents argue about "Is there a normal?" All agree: the springtime is just too short. A North American would also notice that the deserts are not hard, but filled with barchans, crescent-shaped sand dunes and sunken *takyrs* (claypans) which pock the almost plantless landscape. The sand ridges were the highways of Asian camel caravans and the silk trade.

In Asia, the great rivers head out from the Hindu Kush, the Pamirs, and the Tien Shan (Heavenly Mountains) ranges. These include extensive glaciers

Right: With one exception, the onager (Asian wild ass) populations are so small and isolated that it is believed that only captive breeding or transporting herds to new locations can save them.

Below: Lake Yeroyulanduz, Turkmenistan. A "Great Basin" landscape.



V. SEMENOV

(like the poplar family's cottonwoods and willows, though in the Lower Turan trees are shorter, with tinier leaves.

Though no one can pinpoint the field of first cultivation, it is here and in the Fertile Crescent that wheat, hemp, lentils, cotton, carrots, radishes, garlic, spinach, and fruits like the apple were first domesticated. Now so arid that these crops need irrigation, the Turan Basin is a center for raising cattle (in the steppes) and sheep (especially in western Kazakstan).

Long gone are the days of great herds of goitered gazelle and onagers. The Turan tiger and Asiatic cheetah have been extirpated. The Asiatic leopard barely holds on. Conflicts between argali (Kuzil-kum wild sheep) and the Turkmen wild goat and cattle and domestic goats are reminiscent of cattle/goat/big horn conflicts in the American Southwest. But, most of all, there is no data. What are irrigation and plowing doing to the rich jerboa species? What's happening to the Middle Asian otter and the two subspecies of marbled polecat? Are the nature reserves really reserves? The Barsakelmessky Reserve on an island in the Aral Sea has stopped conserving anything but salt, and other reserves falter from lack of funds. ⊕



H.R. LEVENSSTEIN AND I.A. MUKHIN

Kazakstan

Size: 2,717,300 sq. miles; **Population:** 16,011,000 (1998); **Capital:** Almaty; **Ethnic Breakdown:** Kazak: 42%, Russian: 37%, Ukrainian: 5%, German: 4%, Uzbek: 2%, Tatar: 2%, Other: 7%; **Resources:** irrigation water, grazing lands, minerals, maybe petroleum; **Religions:** Muslim and Christian Orthodox; **Languages:** Kazak, Russian, German, Ugric, Korean, Tatar; **Phones per 100 People:** 9.1; **Children per Woman:** 2.7.



During the Soviet era, "Middle Asia and Kazakstan" was the term for the five republics that comprise Central Asia, and this separation reflects Kazakstan's continuing ambivalent geographical, linguistic, and historical connection with the rest of the region. Among the five Central Asian states, it is by far the largest country, boasts the only ambitious privatization program, has the most technically sophisticated intelligentsia, and enjoys a credit rating better than Russia's. While Kazakstan is the economic powerhouse of the region, its rival for leadership in the region, Uzbekistan, continues to exert much greater cultural influence. After independence, one million Germans alone emigrated (not to mention the Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, etc.) but the Kazaks try not to allow that to get out, because of Uzbekistan's large population. Health problems from Soviet nuclear testing, salinization of soils, and air and water pollution are the big environmental issues.

Kyrgyzstan

Size: 198,500 sq. miles; **Population:** 4,473,000 (1994); **Capital:** Bishkek; **Ethnic Breakdown:** Kyrgyz: 52%, Russian: 22%, Uzbek: 13%, Ukrainian: 3%, German: 2%, Tatar: 2%, Other: 7%; **Resources:** irrigation water, lead, zinc, coal, some oil and natural gas; **Religions:** Sunni Muslim, Russian Orthodox; **Languages:** Kyrgyz, Russian, Uzbek; **Phones per 100 people:** 7.5; **Children per Woman:** 3.6.



Kyrgyzstan is the most open and, usually, the most democratic of the five republics, but it suffers from its small size and limited prospects for economic development. Stuck between major powers of the region, Kyrgyzstan recently appears to have tied its fate to Kazakstan; in late July, the eldest son of Kyrgyzstan's President Akaev, in what everywhere in Eurasia was called a "royal wedding," married the youngest daughter of Kazakstan's President Nazarbaev. Water pollution in Kyrgyzstan is severe.

Tajikistan

Size: 143,100 sq. miles; **Population:** 5,676,000 (1994); **Capital:** Dushanbe; **Ethnic Breakdown:** Tajik: 65%, Uzbek: 25%, Russian: 4%, Tatar: 2%, Kyrgyz: 1%, Other: 4%; **Resources:** irrigation water, abundant minerals; **Religions:** Sunni and Shi'ite Muslim; **Languages:** Uzbek, Russian; **Phones per 100 People:** 4.6; **Children per Woman:** 5.1.



Post-Soviet Central Asia has been remarkably free of armed conflict, with the glaring exception of Tajikistan, where a civil conflict has been ongoing since 1992. While a coalition government has formed, acts of terrorism remain common in the republic. However, despite Tajikistan's continuing problems, it is the only republic where the old communist elite has been forced to the side and where the process of rebuilding allows some hope for overcoming the bureaucratic and organizational inertia of the Soviet Union that so strongly supports autocratic trends in all the other republics. Ninety percent of Tajikistan is mountainous. It has severe drinking water problems.

Turkmenistan

Size: 448,100 sq. miles; **Population:** 4,406,000 (1994); **Capital:** Ashgabat; **Ethnic Breakdown:** Turkmen: 73%, Russian: 10%, Uzbek: 9%, Other: 6%, Kazakh: 2%; **Resources:** irrigation water, minerals, natural

gas and oil; **Religions:** mostly Sunni Muslim; **Languages:** Turkmen, Russian; **Phones per 100 People:** 4.2; **Children per Woman:** 3.9.

The other four republics have created a Central Asian Economic Union, but Turkmenistan stays aloof from this and other attempts at regional cooperation. Turkmenistan cites its official policy of neutrality (in 1995 it convinced the UN General Assembly to recognize it as neutral), but it is also the most closed state in the region. Its President Niyazov (known by law as Turkmenbashi, head of the Turkmen) is the center of a Stalinistic personality cult, and, while Turkmenistan encourages tourism and hydrocarbon development, its citizens have little access to foreign media or the fruits of oil and gas development. About eighty percent of Turkmenistan lies within the Karakum desert.



Uzbekistan

Size: 479,400 sq. miles; **Population:** 21,639,000; **Capital:** Tashkent; **Ethnic Breakdown:** Uzbek: 71%, Russian: 8%, Tajik: 5%, Kazakh: 4%, Tatar: 2%, Karakalpak: 2%, Other: 7%; **Resources:** irrigation water, natural gas and oil, coal; **Religions:** mostly Sunni Muslim; **Languages:** Uzbek, Russian, Tajik; **Phones per 100 People:** 6.6; **Children per Woman:** 4.1.

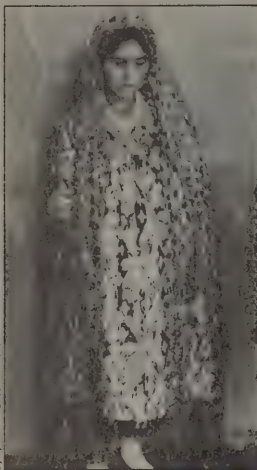


Uzbekistan stakes a claim to defining the identity of the Central Asian region because it shares borders with each of the other republics (and Afghanistan), borders neither China nor Russia, controls the bulk of the tourist and historical attractions in the region (i.e. Khiva, Samarkand, Bukhara, etc.), and knows that sizeable and influential communities of Uzbeks reside in each of the other republics (including Afghanistan, where the 20 percent not controlled by the Taliban is, simplistically stated, Uzbek and Tajik). Since it does not shy away from strong-arm diplomacy, Uzbekistan's undeniable influence in the region is often not welcomed by its neighbors. ☉

SOURCES:
THE WORLD GUIDE 1997/98: A VIEW FROM THE SOUTH. THIRD WORLD INSTITUTE, 1997. NEW INTERNATIONALIST PUBLICATIONS, LTD.

THE CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS: FRAGMENTS OF EMPIRE, MAGNETS OF WEALTH. CHARLES UNDELAND AND NICHOLAS PLATT, 1994. THE ASIA SOCIETY.

Central Asia



LJAJLA KUZNETSOVA

Law and Environment Eurasia Partnership (LEEP)

219 North Avenue, Weston, MA 02193, 617/497-6558, esievers@igc.org, stsfac.mit.edu/projects/leep/. LEEP also maintains offices in Kazakstan and Uzbekistan.

If you want to learn more about Central Asia, go here first. The former Soviet states of Central Asia have 5,000 social associations and 1,500 NGOs which provide a counterweight against environmental devastation and emerging autocracies. As the US-based extension of six local, grassroots nonprofits, LEEP works to improve existing environmental and nonprofit legislation in Central Asia, develop conservation projects, and provide information to local NGOs. Its comprehensive webpage offers links and access to NGOs, nature reserves, and environmental information. Find out about the demise of a Tajik zoo, a chemical spill in Kyrgyzstan, and a lawsuit to prevent American hunters from killing off endangered argali.

Aral Sea

Aral Sea Committee

1055 Fort Cronkite, Sausalito, CA 94965, 415/331-5122, fax 415/332-8167, perc@igc.org.

American and Central Asian activists work with local NGOs to reform land and water use in the Amu Darya and Syr Darya River Basins and to address the health crisis.

Perzent

PO Box 27, Nukus-12, 742012 Karakalpakstan, Uzbekistan, +7 (36122) 7-55-17, oral@glas.apc.org.

Children and pregnant women in the Uzbek republic of Karakalpakstan have been especially hard hit by the Aral Sea disaster. Oral Ataniyazova wanted to help her people, so she became a gynecologist and started Perzent to research the links between pollution and reproductive health, educate Karakalpak women, and provide medical assistance and family planning services. Inspiring work.

"A Soviet Sea Lies Dying"

National Geographic. (February 1990). Single Copy \$5. National Geographic, PO Box 60001, Tampa, FL 33660, 800/777-2800.

This article, though a bit outdated, provides an excellent overview of the Aral Sea tragedy.

Concerns

Open Society Institute's Central Eurasia Project

400 West 59th Street, New York, New York 10019, 212/548-4679, fax 212/548-4679, snews@soros.ny.org, www.soros.org/central_eurasia.html.

An effective project of humanitarian and pro-democracy philanthropy by George Soros (see p. 87).

Karaganda EcoCenter

Room 120, KarGU, Biological Faculty, ul. Universitetskaya, Karaganda 470074, Kazakstan, telephone and fax +7 (3212) 74-56-86, karaganda@glasnet.ru.

Over forty years, the Soviet Union carried out 468 nuclear tests in Kazakstan's desert. People still pasture livestock, grow crops, and make their homes there. Started by MacArthur fellow Kaisha Atakanova, EcoCenter addresses the lasting impacts of radiation in the region.

Country File: Central Asia Index on Censorship (2/98).

Lancaster House, 33 Islington High Street, London N1 9LH, UK, +44 (171) 278 2313, fax +44 (171) 278 1878, contact @indexoncensorship.org, www.indexoncensorship.org.

Articles on the status of Tajik widows, freedom of speech and media, and Russians in post-Soviet Central Asia.

Central Asia Survey

Special section (February 7, 1998) of The Economist. 16pp. \$3.75. The Economist Newspaper Group, Inc., Reprints Department, 111 W 57th Street, New York, NY 10019, 212/541-5730.

Wavering between kleptocracy and democracy, the Central Asian nations confront their natural resource wealth—mostly in oil and natural gas. These eight articles are essential reading on what's at stake in the new Great Game: extravagant pollution, and nouveau-riche oil tycoons, corrupt politicians, and foreign investors manipulating the current geopolitics in Central Asia.

Note: I like the idea of praising local groups, but I'm worried about people asking these groups to help foreigners make travel plans and about seventh graders asking for information about their country. Both are already very frequent occurrences on email. Since all the Central Asian groups are small and largely volunteer, such emails only complicate their efforts. —ES

Cultures

The Hundred Thousand Fools of God Musical Travels in Central Asia (And Queens, New York)

Ted Levin. 1997; 384 pp. \$35. Indiana University Press.

Comes with a CD that samples the region's contemporary and ancient music. Reviewed in Whole Earth No.90.

Waqf in Central Asia Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine

Robert D. McChesney. 1991; 356pp. \$67.50. Princeton University Press.

A portrait of waqf, Islamic charitable endowment, within a (to use the term loosely) civil society and a history of Central Asia and the adjacent Afghani Balkh region. This study focuses on a shrine in northern Afghanistan that claims to hold the body of Ali, the Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law. It is grounded in five centuries of regional history, and brings to life the unique and flexible legal and social possibilities of waqf that helped change the village of Khwajah Khayran into the city of Mazar-i Sharif. McChesney makes a subtle yet compelling argument against excluding northern Afghanistan from a definition of Central Asia. —DS

Shaking the Dust of Ages

Gypsies and Wanderers of the Central Asian Steppe

Ljajla Kuznetsova. 1998; 160 pp. \$45. Aperture, 800/929-2323, www.aperture.org.

As a child in Kazakstan, Ljajla Kuznetsova would watch the gypsies' caravans from her aunt's farm. She has translated her fascination into beautiful photographs of gypsies living on the vast, windy horizon of the steppe and in the alleys and corners of ancient Central Asian cities. —LM

Uzbekistan Heirs to the Silk Road

Johannes Kalter and Margareta Pavaloi, eds. 1997; 360 pp. \$60. Thames & Hudson.

For an overview of Uzbekistan's art, start here. This book covers history, art, and culture from the days of the silk road to the post-communist era. From the archaeological remains of the pre-Christian era to book arts in the time of Tamerlane's empire, to horses, houses, and their trappings, it cuts across a wide swath of artistic media. Short essays, wonderful black-and-white photographs of nineteenth-century Uzbekistan, and many color illustrations make this book worth having. If you are heading to Central Asia, do your reading before you go—at 360 pages and five pounds, this not a book you'll want to lug around. —Diane Mott

The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane

Beatrice Forbes Manz. 1989; 227 pp. \$21.95. Cambridge University Press.

A wealth of historical information. For anyone visiting Uzbekistan, where Amir Timur (known to the West as Tamerlane) is basically a state symbol, knowledge of the life and activities of this conqueror will impress and please hosts. Be warned, however. Manz's compact, authoritative study of Tamerlane, and, particularly the political organization of his world, at times contradicts the local (read communist and, now, nationalist) wisdom about him. —ES



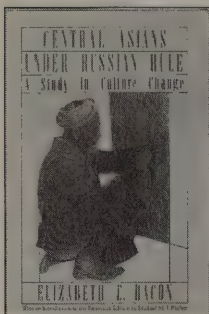
Nine existing and potential pipeline routes for pumping oil and natural gas from the Caspian region to the rest of the world.

Central Asians Under Russian Rule

A Study in Culture Change

Elizabeth E. Bacon. 1960; 273 pp. \$16.95. Cornell University Press.

Although she wrote the book more than thirty years ago, spent only a couple of months in Kazakstan, and never got to see anything or go anywhere, Bacon's work stands the test of time amazingly well. Her book may still be the best general introduction to modern Central Asia, especially regarding the sensitive topic of identity and the forces of Russification. —ES



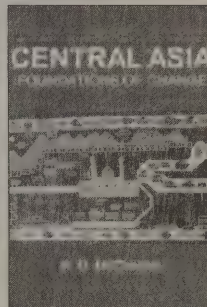
“ In 1961, Khrushchev called for mass production of synthetic materials for yurts, more durable than the traditional felt and wooden frames. However, suggested *Pravda* in 1962, since mass production of synthetic yurts had not yet been organized, some sort of mobile dwelling on wheels might be provided, and the harsh living conditions of the shepherds might be alleviated by the mass production of such articles as portable gas stoves and warm sleeping bags. This solicitude does not seem to have been motivated by a need to keep Kazaks and other pastoral peoples at their traditional occupation of livestock breeding.

Central Asia Foundations of Change

Robert D. McChesney. 1996; 204 pp. \$35. Darwin Press.

This book claims that pre-Soviet religious, legal, and other practices will be important in post-Soviet development. And while the current speculation that Islamic law will strongly influence Central Asia's development is unpopular, McChesney's argument is convincing. —ES

“ Because the borders are linked to an imagined ethnicity, they are increasingly perceived as inviolate, and this has heightened the sense of belonging felt by the eponymous ethnic group (Kazak, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen, and Uzbek). Conversely, the sense of alienation experienced by the ethnic minorities living within these borders has also intensified.

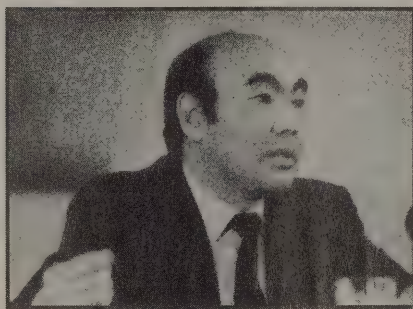


“ On the cultural front, the cities of Samarqand and Bukhara and all the literary and scientific achievements associated with them in history are viewed by Tajiks as belonging to their past and therefore an indispensable part of their heritage. The fact that both cities are inside Uzbekistan is a cause of considerable resentment for Tajiks, because there is no site of comparable symbolic value in Tajikistan.

The Central Asian States Discovering Independence

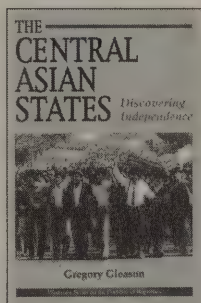
Gregory Gleason. 1997; 256 pp. \$23.95. Westview Press.

This is the book for the anyone who wants the most basic introduction to the region. It covers history, politics, environment, communist development, languages, armed conflicts, and geography, paying critical attention to the details of *Glasnost* to post-Soviet to mid-1990s social, legal, and political transition. —ES



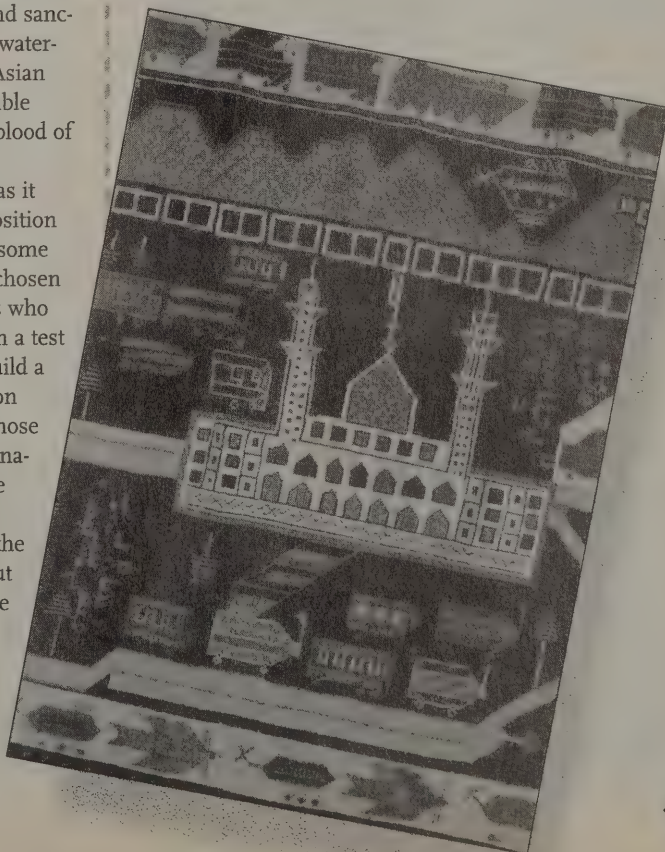
Central Asia 101. —PW

“ By the late 1980s, the practice of extreme specialization in cotton—a practice that for so long had been heralded as the “patriotic duty” of the Asian republics—came to be identified as the cause of disastrous social and economic conditions in the Asian republics....Reflecting popular antagonism toward the “cotton obligation,” leaders of opposition groups bitterly attacked the area's cotton specialization, proclaiming that the “Uzbeks are not cotton slaves, but a nation.”



“free riders”—appropriators attempting to use more than their allotted share of water—had to be monitored and sanctioned. The *mirab*, the water-master of the Central Asian societies...was responsible for channeling the lifeblood of the society.

...Traditional lore has it that when the *mirab* position fell vacant by death or some other exigency, a new *mirab* was chosen through a trial by fire. Candidates who declared their interest...were given a test in which they were required to build a small demonstration canal from on point to another. The engineer whose canal guided the water to its destination first won the test and became the new *mirab*. The other contestants suffered more than merely the ignominy of defeat—they were put to death. This practice reduced the contenders for this important societal post while ensuring the science of irrigation engineering was pursued with a fitting seriousness of purpose.



Kurdistan

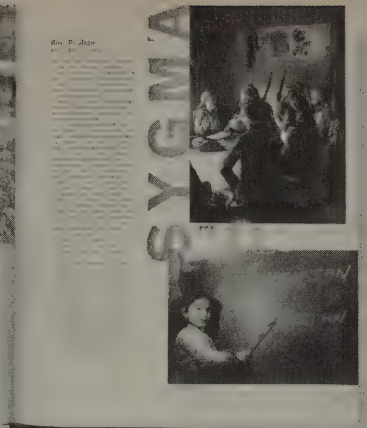
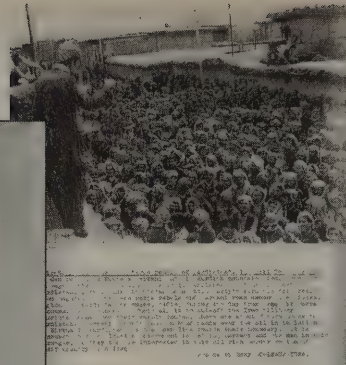
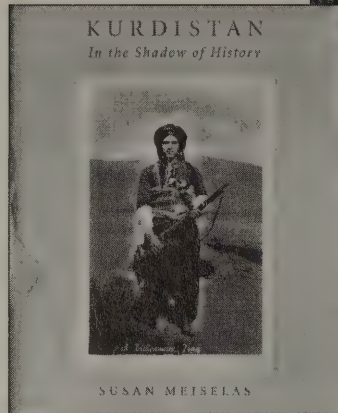
**Kurdistan
In the Shadow of History**
Susan Meiselas. 1997; 388
pp. \$100. Random House.

Kurdistan isn't a Central Asian -stan. Its people are scattered through Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and the former Soviet Union, where governments have attacked everything Kurdish. The Kurds are the largest ethnic group without a homeland. They have no national archives, no accessible records of their past. Susan Meiselas has unearthed a history of Kurdistan through faded photographs, newspaper clippings, government documents, excerpts from diaries and travelogues, and journalists' accounts. *Kurdistan* is the greatest testament in print to the power of documentation Whole Earth has ever seen. —LM, PW, MS, Winslow Colwell, Jon Goodchild (Suggested by Linda Connor)

“ A Kurdish Scholar living in New York gave us the name of a well-known

Left: Bridegroom dancing in the street, Diyarbakir, Turkey.

Right: Yildiz Alpdoğan, a young Turk sentenced to 12 years and 6 months in prison for participating in the Kurdish struggle.



photographer, now dead. In Iraq, the photographer's son

by tying prisoners on the roof. —FREYA STARK, BRITISH TRAVELER AND JOURNALIST

greet us uncertainly, at first cautious about speaking of his patrimony. After tea, he disappears to the back of the house and returns carrying little orange boxes crammed with glass negatives. He shows us what remains of his father's distinguished work.

Making prints is complicated logistically and must be done discreetly. We borrow a small darkroom in town, mix homemade chemicals, and use paper I've brought from New York. Formal portraits of families and notables, private and public events appear. One image leaps out; a group of Kurds behind someone in official dress, the Persian flag hanging above them. A significant moment—a brief interim before power became centralized in Persia? An image suggesting the hope that Kurds could control their ancestral lands? Or does this photograph memorialize yet another lost possibility, tribal chieftains betraying other rival chiefs? There's no way to know yet.

After I finish printing, the photographer's son reburies the glass plates somewhere in his backyard, to make sure that whatever might happen in Iraq, the images will somehow survive.

“ BAGHDAD, DECEMBER 16, 1931. . . They are having a little war in Kurdistan: it has been a secret for some time so I did not write, though Mrs. Chapman told me about it. The Sheikh of Barzan, near Suleimania, got the Iraqi vanguard, killed some, captured twenty-nine, and prevented the bombing of villagers



“ I was mayor for three years. In the coup d'état in September 1980, I was arrested and charged with being against the unity of the government, of being a separatist and a member of an illegal organization. While I was in prison, some other Kurdish people started to testify in Kurdish at the trials. A group of PKK people from Batman spoke in Kurdish and they were beaten. And I told them, “Don't be afraid. I will avenge you. Tomorrow I have my trial.” And the next day I went and spoke in Kurdish, but I was beaten and thrown out of court.

Out of principle almost everybody started to speak in Kurdish, but the authorities didn't bring translators. They beat me from 1987 until 1991. I never spoke another word in Turkish. —MEHDI ZANA, KURDISH MAYOR LIVING IN TURKEY.



ED KASHI

To All Whom It May Concern —

The received letter from the Cultural and Social Affairs Department of General Presidency of ISLAMIC STATE OF AFGHANISTAN No 6240 dated 26.09.1375 states that:

The role and regulation of Amr Bil Marof Wa Nai Az Munkir is to distributed via your office to all whom it may concern for implementation.

To prevent sedition and female uncovers (Be Hajabi):

No drivers are allowed to pick up female who are using Iranian Burqa. In the case of violation the driver will be imprisoned. If such kind of female are observed in the street, their house will be found and their husbands punished. If the woman use stimulating and attractive cloth and there is no accompany of close male relative with them, the drivers should not pick them up.

To prevent music:

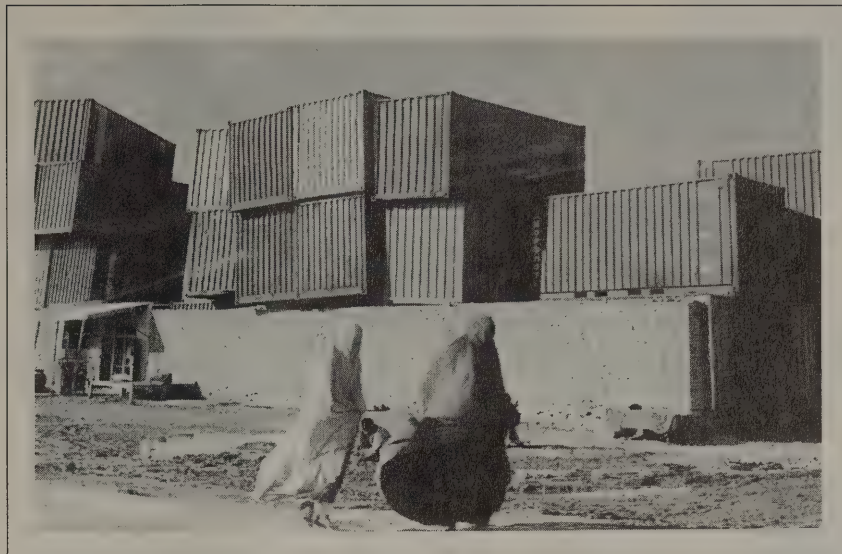
In shops, hotels, vehicle and Rikshaws cassettes and music are prohibited. This matter should be monitored within five days, if any music cassette found in a shop, the shopkeeper should be imprisoned and the shop locked. If five people guarantee, the shop could be opened and the criminal released later. If cassette found in the vehicle, the vehicle and the driver will be imprisoned. If five people guarantee, the vehicle will be released and the criminal released later.

To prevent beard shaving and its cutting:

After one and half month if any one observed who has shaved and/or cut his beard, they should be arrested and imprisoned until their beard gets bushy.

To eradicate the use of addiction and its user:

Addict should be imprisoned and investigation made to find the supplier and the shop. The shop should be locked and both criminals (the owner and the user) should be imprisoned and punished.



EDWARD GRAZDA

[Women]
From a car window,
Mazar-i-sharif,
Afghanistan,
1997.

To prevent kite flying:

Advise the people of its useless consequences such as betting, death of children and their deprivation from education. The kite shops in the city should be abolished.

To prevent idolatry:

In the vehicle, shops, room, hotels and any other places pictures/portraits should be abolished. The monitors should tear up all pictures in the above places.

To prevent gambling:

In collaboration with the security police the main centers should be found and the gamblers imprisoned for one month.

To prevent the British and American hair style:

People with long hair should be arrested and taken to the Amr Bil Marof Wa Nai Az Munkir department to shave their hair. The criminal has to pay the barber.

To prevent washing cloth by young ladies along the water streams in the city:

Violator ladies should be picked up with respectful Islamic manner taken

to their houses and their husbands severely punished.

To prevent music and dances in wedding parties:

The above two things should be prevented. In the case of violation the head of the family will be arrested and punished.

To prevent sewing ladies cloth and taking female body measures by tailor:

If woman or fashion magazine are seen in the shop the tailor should be imprisoned.

To prevent sorcery:

All the related books should be burnt and the magician should be imprisoned until his repentance.

The above issues are stated and you are requested to, according to your job responsibilities, implement and inform your related organizations. ⊕



Afghanistan

Mullah, Marx, and Mujahid

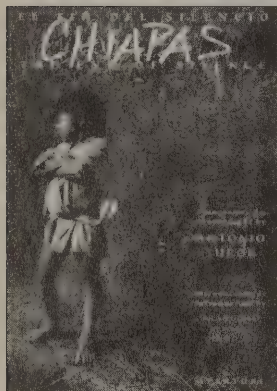
Ralph H. Magnus and Eden Naby.
1998; 274 pp. \$30. Westview Press.

I think this book is superb; it's more organized and well-written than anything we have in post-Soviet studies. An up-to-date history. — ES





Clockwise from upper left: Twins, 1974; Purification Ceremony, 1994; Mirror of Life, 1979; María Cartones, 1975.



Chiapas
El Fin del Silencio/The End of Silence

Antonio Turok. 1998; 152 pp. \$40. Aperture, 800/929-2323, www.aperture.org.

I worked and lived in Chiapas twenty years before the Zapatista rebellion. It was never Aztec/Spanish but Mayan/mestizo. Its forests still covered large expanses or mixed with coffee plantations. Spanish was a second language. Christianity had so deeply melded with

Mayan ways that no anthropologist could disentangle the parts. I bought postcards, looked at hundreds of photographs, sketched

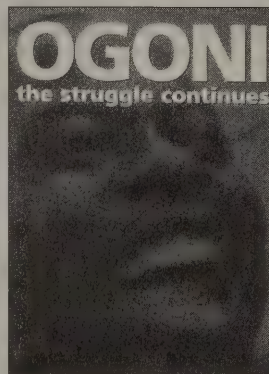
Tzeltal ceremonies. Antonio Turok's eye and gall come closest to Chiapan powers—ghostly, all-too-real, witchy, political, mystical, heart-breaking, full of dignity. Black and white, bilingual, mostly two-page spreads; testimonials as poetic as the world of the *Popul Vuh*. —PW

“As I turned down a side street, I ran into a column of Zapatista, disciplined men and women whose stoic expressions commanded respect. I grabbed my camera and was about to shoot. In that split second a young rebel pointed his weapon directly at my heart. He was challenging me, forcing me to see that we were opposites, and for good or ill, he and his comrades had decided to take the final road.

Ogoni
The Struggle Continues

Deborah Robinson. 1996; 106 pp. \$5 (including airmail postage). World Council of Churches, Unit III/CCLIA, PO Box 2100, 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland, +41 (22) 791 62 21, fax +41 (22) 791 64 09, ch@wcc-coe.org, www.wcc-coe.org.

The World Council of Churches has produced this very thorough exposé of the human rights atrocities taking place in Nigeria, through the stories of the Ogoni people, one of the many ethnic minorities of that country. The issues: economic exploitation and environmental destruction. The Nigerian government and the Shell Petroleum Development Corporation have colluded through the years to keep the oil flowing at all costs. Imprisonment, torture, and death have been the consequences of direct



involvement, or even suspicion of sympathy, with the Ogoni rights organization, the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP). One chapter is devoted to the life and work of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Ogoni activist who, along with eight other Ogonis, was executed in 1995 despite international protest.

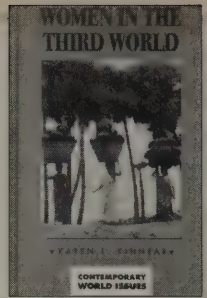
The book is detailed and well-documented with numerous first-person accounts—a compelling report of a tragic situation.

—Valerie Harris

“It is important for the reader to understand that hectares upon hectares of land have been destroyed by oil spills. We visited the Ebubu spill site. To walk on the oil-encrusted earth and see deep recesses in which oil was still present was an overwhelmingly dismal experience, but it was even more shocking to realize that this land has been this

Women in the Third World

Karen L. Kinnear. 1997; 348 pp. \$40. ABC-CLIO, Inc.



In Morocco I knew a family with five daughters, only

one of whom could write her name. I also lived in the home of an educated woman who worked in a bank and could not, by law, divorce her abusive husband. Here are women with similar lives, placed into a global perspective.

Women in the Third World is the most useful and comprehensive guide to the subject. It covers vast problems with vast resources, offering encyclopedic access to international treaties, organizations, books and journals, videos, and websites. Some of the facts and statistics are dry, but the inspiring profiles of influential women make up for it. —LM

“Feminist International Radio Endeavor, PO Box 88, Santa Ana, Costa Rica, 506/249-18-21. Founded in 1991, Feminist International Radio Endeavor (FIRE) is a women's radio project that broadcasts a two-hour daily program.... FIRE seeks to create a communications channel on shortwave where women's voices are heard by people throughout the world. The daily shows focus on diverse themes from a gender perspec-

way for 26 years, and will remain in this state for many, many, many more years. At the Yorla spill site that occurred in 1994, after Shell “ceased operations in Ogoniland,” we saw the appalling destruction that oil spills and blowouts cause and realized that even more valuable land to Ogoni farmers had been laid to waste. Most importantly, we knew that Nigerians outside of Ogoniland have little idea about what life with the oil companies has been like....

“With the pull-out of Shell from Ogoniland, gas flaring has stopped in 4 of the 5 flowstations. Where the gas flaring has stopped, people were able to see a difference in their vegetation; farm yields are better than before. The people did not know what it was like to live without Shell. It is only now that the people in these areas can see what type of environmental devastation the gas flaring had been causing for the past 35 years.

tive, including structural adjustment, women's human rights, the environment, racism, militarism, sexuality, education, art, and culture.

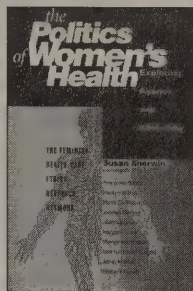
“Well-known Pakistani lawyer Asma Jahangir's...husband would not allow her to work in a “man's law office”; therefore, in 1980, she and three other women started their own law firm, the first woman's legal practice in Pakistan....In 1983, she was beaten, tear-gassed, and arrested by police after protesting the Proposed Law of Evidence, in which a woman's testimony in court is valued at half that of a man's testimony.

The Politics Of Women's Health Exploring Agency and Autonomy

The Feminist Health Care Ethics Research Network, coordinated by Susan Sherwin. 1998; 321 pp. \$19.95. Temple University Press.

The more things change, the more we might wish that they would change faster. Thirty years after *Women's Health Issues* spurred the creation of a grassroots movement in the United States and Europe, much of the world lags woefully behind in address-

ing the medical needs of women. Dalhousie University professor Susan Sherwin, coordinator of the Feminist Health Care Ethics Research Network, edits this volume of essays produced over four years by a broad, interdisciplinary group of scholars, physicians, lawyers, and philosophers examining both the state of women's health on the global stage, and the underlying structures that all too often continue to freeze women out, both in terms of care and research. Whether the subject is aging, spousal abuse, or the politics of medicalization—women remain second-class citizens on a profound level. Entering a new millennium, the baggage of the old is still very much with us. —Patrizia DiLucchio



“In a world where most cultures are plagued by sexism, which is usually compounded by other deeply entrenched oppressive patterns, fundamental respect for the humanity, dignity, and autonomy of members of

disadvantaged groups, though extremely fragile, seems very important and in need of strong ethical imperatives. Feminists strive to be sensitive to the

ways in which gender, race, class, age, disability, sexual orientation, and marital status can undermine a patient's authority and credibility in health care contexts and most are aware of the long history of powerful medical control over women's lives. They have good reason then to oppose medical domination through paternalism.

Promotion of patient autonomy appears to be a promising alternative. Understood in its traditional sense as the alternative to heteronomy (governance by others), autonomy (self-governance) seems to be an essential feature of any feminist strategy for improving health services for women and achieving a nonoppressive society.

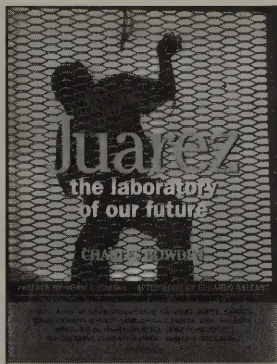
Juárez

The Laboratory of Our Future

Charles Bowden. 1998; 152 pp. \$40. Aperture (see opposite).

In the afterward to this gut-wrenching text and photo essay about the grisly life on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande, writer Eduardo Galeano asks momentarily whether it is worth it for the third world countries to strive to become first world nations; then he quickly answers his own query. “If poor countries rise to the level of production and waste of the wealthy, the planet will die.”

Unfortunately for the more than ten million people who have flocked to Juárez since 1990 in search of jobs in the *maquiladoras*, death is an all too common reality, the result of violence and drug trafficking gone insane, much of it due to the appetite for marijuana and cocaine in the United States. Graphically documented by “shooters” who often arrive at the scene of heinous crimes and emergencies with cameras blazing before the police or firemen, and narrated with a chilling, top-rate text by Charles Bowden, this book accomplishes its mission. It shakes us from complacency and lays bare the victims of circumstances set in motion by government



corruption, narcotics trafficking, gang warfare and global trade agreements. This is where Cormac McCarthy goes in search of nightmarish and surreal inspiration for his borderlands fiction. —Dan Imhoff

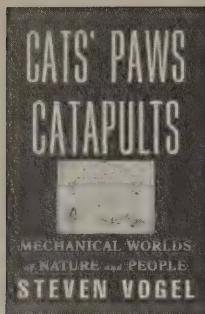
“I have looked at hundreds of recent photographs from Juárez, many of which you will never see because they lack the right light or proper focus or are not perfectly framed. But mainly because there is a limit to how much we can stomach, and that goes for you and that goes for me. One photograph in particular keeps taking over my mind....In this image, a young woman, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, I can't say for sure, lies on the ground stone-dead. Her face is clearly visible and it is caked with streams of fresh blood. A rock, a good-sized rock, has been stuffed in her mouth, and now her lips look like an inner tube wrapped around the rock. You can hear her teeth breaking.



JAIME BAILLERES

“We all have a deep need to ignore Juárez....But this will not work because the economy either shrinks (7 to 8 percent in 1995), or shows token growth of 3 percent in 1996 off a severely shrunken base....We are not looking at a temporary economic dip or even a depression. We are looking at long-term poverty, underemployment, and malnutrition. We tell ourselves that there are gangs and murders in American cities. This is true, but it does not deal with the reality of Juárez. We are not talking about darkness on the edge of town or a bad neighborhood. We are talking about an entire city woven out of violence. We tell ourselves that jobs in the *maquiladoras* are better than nothing. But we ignore the low wages, high turnover, and shacks. Then there is a silent sentence that says... after all, they are Mexicans, not U.S. citizens.

The body of a woman allegedly executed by *narcotraficantes* (drug traffickers) in Ciudad Juárez.



Cats' Paws and Catapults Mechanical Worlds of Nature and People

Steven Vogel. 1998; 382 pp. \$27.50. W.W. Norton.

Evolution has produced two technologies: nature's biomechanics and human engineering. Steven Vogel is a biologist, but he rejects the isn't-nature-beautiful-and-wise-and-aren't-humans-

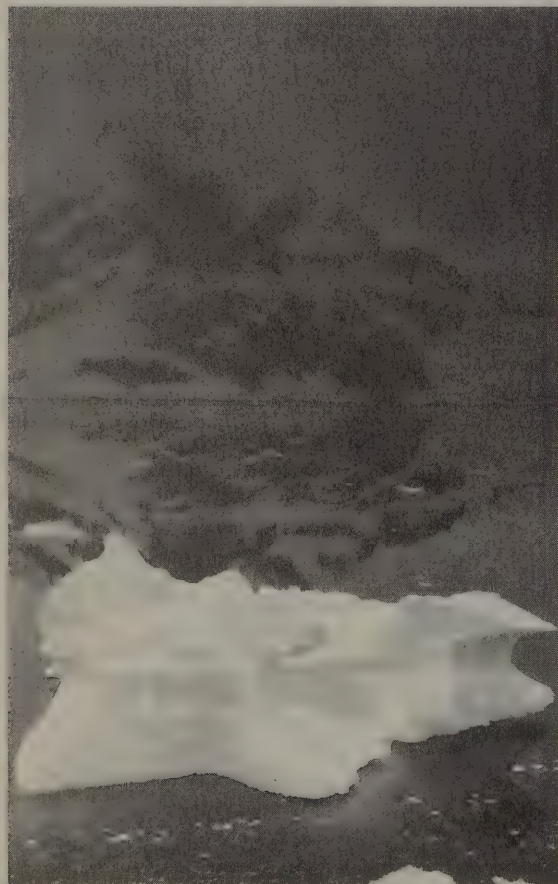
arrogant-and-clumsy school of engineering-bashing. He wants, he says, to "ruffle our tendency to view nature as the gold standard for design and a great source of technological breakthroughs"—but without simply glorifying big-brain progress over nature either.

The two technologies are just different, and for good reasons. They solve problems on different size- and timescales, with different materials. They work with different constraints, media, means of storage and transportation, ways of learning, and mechanisms for transmitting learning. Like Blake, Vogel labors well the minute particulars—presenting, elegantly and in detail, the two technologies' similarities and striking differences. Biology and engineering illuminate each other here, with joy and wonder. —MKS

“When I was a student, the issue was simply put. “Nature has never invent-

Cruising between peaks and glaciers gave me the impression of floating at more than 20,000 feet through the high Himalaya after a flood far greater than the one reported in the Bible had raised the level of the oceans.

—POLES APART



ed the wheel,” went the textbooks. But science progresses, and we now know that a perfectly fine and true wheel and axle does appear in nature....In the high magnification of an electron micrograph, a bacterial flagellum looks like a carefully drawn set of very regular waves suspiciously like a rigid structure. It turns out to be a rigid helix much like a corkscrew. Instead of passing one wave of bending after another along its length, it spins around, ten to hundred times each second. The base of the flagellum forms a driveshaft that passes through the cell membrane, connecting it to a rotary engine. And the membrane works like a proper set of bearings. The engine bears a curious similarity in both appearance and operation to our electric motors. It's even reversible. The whole thing—engine and corkscrew—either singly or in groups, pushes or pulls a bacterium around much the same way a propeller pushes a ship or pulls an airplane.

“Nature uses fewer flat and more curved surfaces than we do.

- Corners in our technology are abrupt; nature's are more often rounded.
- We most often design to a criterion of adequate stiffness, while nature seems more concerned with ample strength.
- Partly as a consequence, our artifacts tend to be more brittle while nature's are tougher.
- As another consequence, our things move on sliding contacts between stiff objects while nature's objects bend, twist,

or stretch at predetermined places.

• As an additional result, we minimize drag with streamlined bodies of fixed shape, but nature often does so with non-rigid bodies that reconfigure in flows.

• Human technology makes enormous use of metals, while metallic materials (as opposed to materials containing metal atoms) are totally absent in nature.

• As a result, we use ductility of metals to prevent crack propagation; nature does as well, but with foams and composites instead.

• Structures with tensile sheaths outside and pressurized fluid inside are both more common and more diverse in natural designs than in ours.

• For such hydrostatic and aerostatic systems, nature's predominant fluid is water while our structures mostly contain air or some other gas.

• Levers in human technology most often amplify force at the expense of distance, while nature's commonest levers amplify distance at the expense of force.

• Surface ships have long played an important role in human technology, but nature overwhelmingly prefers submarines.

• Our factories dwarf the items they produce; nature's factories make products far larger than themselves.

• We judge our devices best when they need only minimal maintenance, but nature's devices get continuously rebuilt.

• Our technology is as dry as nature's is wet.

Poles Apart Parallel Visions of the Arctic and the Antarctic

Galen Rowell. 1995; 183 pp. \$24.95. University of California Press.

I was reared in the company of books by Eliot Porter, an artist and naturalist of such mastery that the work of less traveled, less informed, and less patient photographers seems merely a joy, and not a revelation.

Galen Rowell, however, approaches Porter's benchmark and often matches it.

Poles Apart let me experience the polar regions in a way I'd never thought possible without a lot of expensive airfare and down clothing. The light, the ice (so much ice. . .),

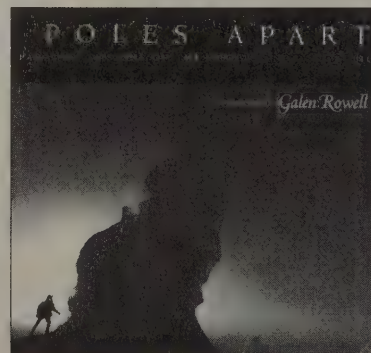
animals finned and furry, the peoples both indigenous and expatriate, all are represented here. But how they are represented!

Rowell's obvious care with every exposure expresses the depth of his passion for these remote places, and beseeches us to look deeper ourselves. And his policy of not manipulating images either in the darkroom or on the computer screen gives them an additional weight in this era of photocollage. All accompanied by perceptive

text and extensive technical notes.

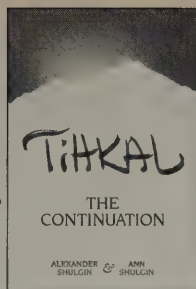
Note that this is among the first color photography books printed using stochastic screening, a reproduction process that yields remarkably sharp, well-registered images with no visible halftone dots. Quite nice.

—Winslow Colwell



TIHKAL The Continuation

Alexander Shulgin and Ann Shulgin. 1997; 804 pp. \$24.50 (\$30.50 postpaid). Transform Press, PO Box 13675, Berkeley, CA 94712, 925/934-2675, fax 925/934-5999, wep@sirius.com.



Let's begin with the title: **TIHKAL** stands for "Tryptamines I Have Known And Loved," and is the continuation of the Shulgins' earlier book, **PIHKAL**, "Phenethylamines I Have Known And Loved." Both books occupy that most special "short shelf" reserved for books that any serious student of the subject must have.

In tryptamines, the carbon-carbon-nitrogen chain is attached to an indole group instead of a phenyl group. Common molecules built on the tryptamine backbone include serotonin, LSD, psilocybin, and dimethyltryptamine (DMT).

TIHKAL is divided into two parts. The first half of the book is prose written in the voices of "Alice" and "Shura," characters bearing so much resemblance to the authors that the "fictionalization," à la Jack Kerouac, may not extend beyond changes in proper names. But where the first half of **PIHKAL** was a love story, most of the pieces in **TIHKAL** are stand-alone essays and memoirs. One section, called "Psychedelics and Personal Transformation," contains some of Ann Shulgin's reflections and experiences of the use of various tryptamines in therapy, along with a lovely chapter called "Places in the Mind" that describes the lures and pitfalls of a number of common psychedelic spaces.

A section called "Tryptamina Botanica," in

"Shura's" voice, contains chapters on DMT, hoasca/ayahuasca, and morning-glory seeds. The DMT chapter may be the most comprehensive on the subject, and concludes with a seductive pointer to a feasible biotech method for producing DMT.

The second half of the book is especially for chemists, containing recipes, dosages, laboratory notes, trip reports, and reflections on fifty-five of these extremely interesting substances. Some of these chemicals are already well known, such as LSD, psilocybin, and DMT, but many of the others are not, and some are new creations.

TIHKAL is a violation of genre: it mixes science and soul—and thus both parts of the work are given a context. This is wholly appropriate. —Dale Pendell

“The Beth State. Shura's name for this rare place is the Beth state, but it could also be thought of as a long-lasting threshold. We have experienced it only with a drug called Aleph-7, and Shura often wonders if it is exclusively a property of that particular material. Or, to put it more accurately, perhaps Aleph-7 is the only drug that opens that particular door in the psyche. And then again, perhaps there are others we don't know about.

His notes include the following: "Slow start at one hour, quiet. Walking feels strange at three hours twenty minutes; a feeling of something impending, but there are no handles, no way to place the intoxication. At four and a half hours, transition to a more familiar altered state,

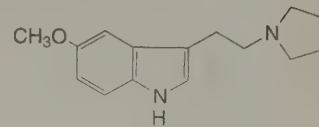
petroglyphs and cave art, and the "new" thinking that many of the pictures and design elements are "entopic" and probably associated with the use of hallucinogenic plants. Interpreting archaeological prehistory is never exact, and professionals are as prone to overstate their cases as are amateurs. Devereux is always careful to present speculation as just that, though I wished at times that he might be even more critical. Sometimes the reference is just to another scholar's speculation. —DP

“Sherratt sees a slow shift from a "smoking complex" to a "drinking complex" in prehistoric Europe. It seems that the introduction of alcohol occurred in Mesopotamia and the eastern Mediterranean region in the fourth millennium B.C. It slowly spread westward, reaching the Atlantic coast of Europe by about 2500 B.C. Sherratt suspects that a mysterious type of British Neolithic pottery called "Grooved Ware"...may have been

quite pleasant. The previous hour or so not unpleasant, just without definition.”

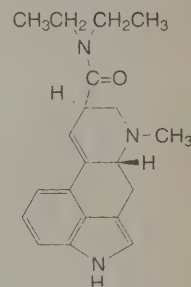
“5-MeO-pyr-T

QUALITATIVE COMMENTS: (with 0.5 mg, orally) "This stuff is an absolute poison. Within minutes I noticed what can only be called ear-ringing without any ear-ringing. Intense tinnitus with no sound, most uncomfortable. There were two waves of nausea, and vomiting of yellow, bilious stuff, with thick mucus for saliva. I can't think straight—muddled. I can't get answers to questions because I simply cannot form the questions. Eyes closed to music gave no images, but the music sounded OK. Recovery was quite rapid, and I was together again in a few hours. Never again.”



5-MeO-pyr-T

(with 4 mg, smoked) "This was free base. I remember the pipe and the inhalation and, with the pouring of a small glass of scotch, I settled down in front of the TV to watch a re-run of Star Trek. That was it. I came to some time later in the front room of a professional ally of mine, who had by chance discovered me walking down the street near his house. I do not recall, nor have I been able to regain, any memories of the time I was 'out there.' I apparently experienced no physical discomfort from the drug. In fact I remember feeling very comfortable when I awoke. Clearly this compound is some weird-ass shit.



LSD-25

The Long Trip

A Prehistory of Psychedelia

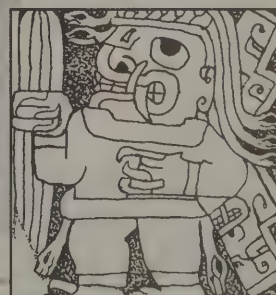
Paul Devereux. 1997; 298 pp. \$15.95. Penguin/Arkana.

The expressed purpose of this book is to demonstrate that psychoactive plants have been an integrated part of human societies since (and before!) the neolithic, and that modern culture is anomalous in this regard rather than

representative. This is a laudable project and Devereux provides an excellent overview of current facts and speculation on plants like *Amanita muscaria* mushrooms, psilocybin, datura and ayahuasca, opium, and cannabis. All in all a good read.

Devereux includes excellent material on

for a ritual drink....The "smoking complex" and the "drinking complex" coexisted for some time, and the hallucinogens that had previously been smoked—opium and cannabis particularly—were prepared as liquid concoctions. Ultimately alcohol assumed dominance in Europe.



Left: A snuffing pipe in use, from a tomb in Colima, western Mexico, dating between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D.

Below: A supernatural being or priest in ritual garb holding a San Pedro cactus.

CULTURE JAMMING

By abrupt

Once upon a time, the “Evils of the Establishment” were subject to rational critique by academics and revolutionaries. Most people still function under this rationalist model: “Change will come if enough people understand the problem rationally and intellectually.” Without dismissing the importance of rationality and intellect, I would argue that these tools are no longer themselves adequate. Specifically, in the struggle to debrief people on the poisonous symbolic system called “The Media,” the rules have been changed.

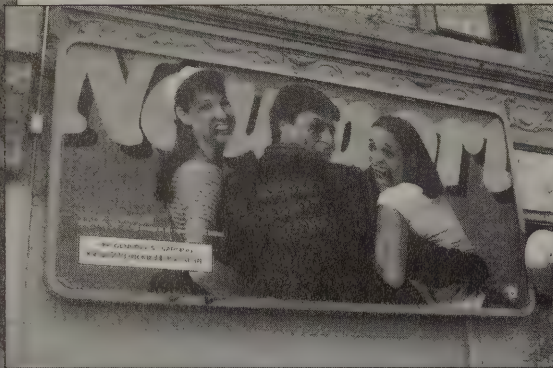
Advertising imagery has long been post- or pre-rational. Only in its infancy was promotion about informing people about the product. Now

WARNING: HEALTHY PROFITS DON'T ALWAYS REQUIRE LIVING CUSTOMERS.

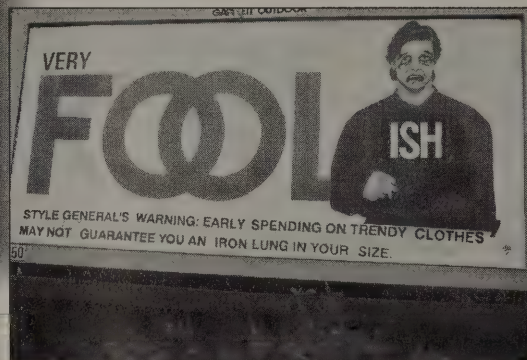
its task is to weave stories, sing songs, to portray not the product but the people who use the product. Promises, threats, training. How can a rational critique even begin to address a worldview whose fundamental issues are not true/false but pleasure/pain, sexy/geeky, and “quality”/“rip-off”?

“Culture Jamming” sticks where rational discourse slides off. It is, simply, the viral introduction of radical ideas. It is viral in that it uses the enemy’s own resources to replicate itself—copy machines, defaced billboards, web pages. It is radical because—ideally—the message, once deciphered, causes damage to blind belief. Fake ads, fake newspaper articles, parodies, pastiche.

The best Culture Jamming is totally unexpected, surprising, shocking in its implications. ⊕



PEDRO CARVAJAL



PEDRO CARVAJAL

Above & right: Two from the Cicada Corps of Artists.

Below: The Billboard Liberation Front, San Francisco, 1998.

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER



Enduring as the mores of love the vigils of justice a tender of poetry

Like a dragon some say electrically charged a dynamic trailing force

Non-ordinary spaces multiverses a logically normal newly explanatory beautifully accomplished

Bob, I've got emphysema.

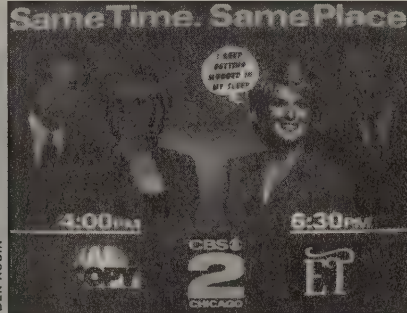
California Department Of Health Services.
Funded By The Tobacco Tax Initiative.

© 1997 California Department of Health Services



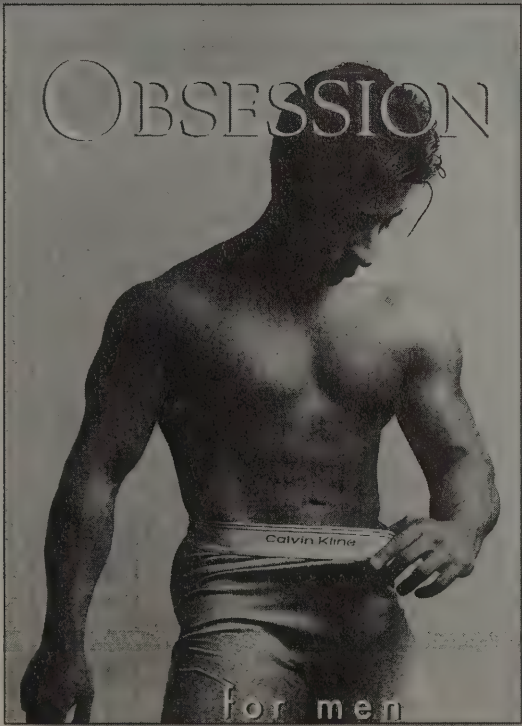
Isn't it time you got?

RUSH PRUDENTIAL HMO

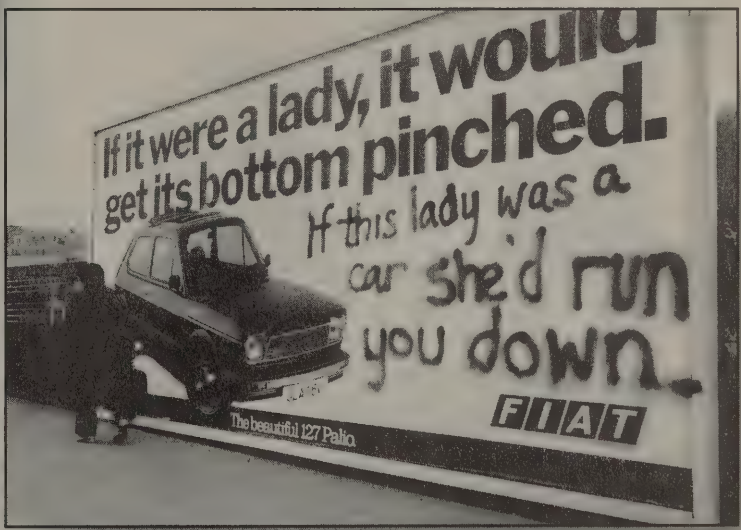


BEN RUBIN

CULTURE JAMMING TAKES THE FORM OF SLICK "SUBVERTISEMENTS," SCRAWLED GRAFFITI, AND CAREFULLY PRODUCED SATIRE. AT ITS BEST IT FORCES US TO DO A DOUBLE-TAKE. ITS MESSAGES—PRO-HEALTH, ANTI-CORPORATION, FEMINIST, STARKLY POLITICAL, OR PLAIN ABSURD—RANGE FROM SUBTLE TO STARTLING.



ABBUSTERS



JILL POSENER

Left: *Adbusters'* deeper appreciation of Calvin Klein.

Top: The Marlboro Man's health takes a turn for the worse in California's anti-smoking campaign.

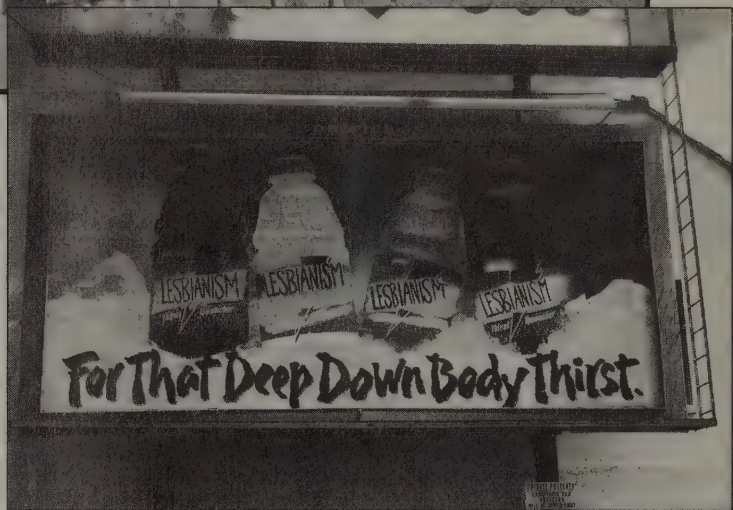
Middle: Artist Ben Rubin has plastered over 1,000 "I Keep Getting Mugged in My Sleep" thought bubbles on subway and bus ads in Chicago.

Lower right: Fiat billboard, London, 1979.

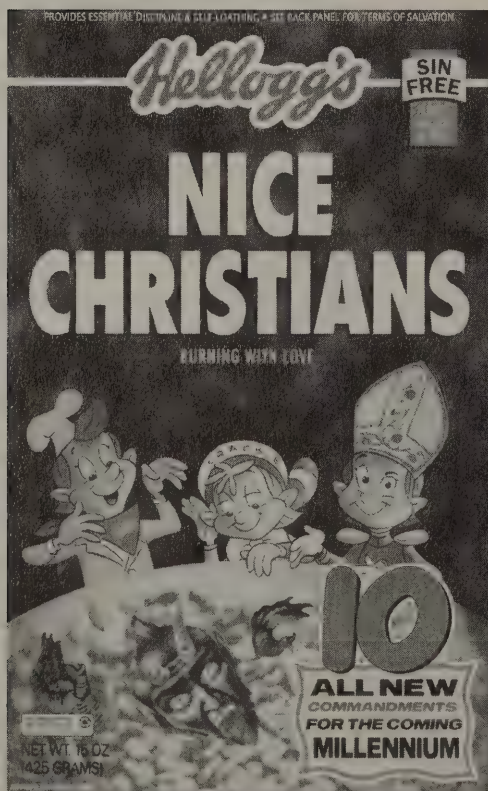
JILL POSENER



CULTURE JAMMING RECLAIMS PUBLIC SPACES, FROM THE STREETS TO THE INTERNET. OUTRAGE AT THE DECEPTION OF ADVERTISING IS NOTHING NEW; GROUPS LIKE THE LESBIAN AVENGERS AND BUGA UP (BILLBOARD UTILISING GRAFFITISTS AGAINST UNHEALTHY PROMOTIONS) IN AUSTRALIA HAVE BEEN AT IT FOR DECADES.



JILL POSENER



ABRUPT

Left: Cereal box spoof from abrupt (see Monkey-wrench the Media, opposite).



JILL POSENER

Top: Next to a San Francisco freeway, 1997.

Middle: Lesbian Avengers, San Francisco, 1994.

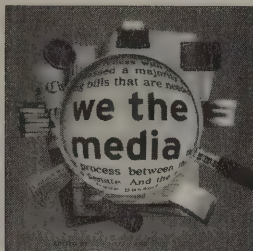
Lower right: BUGA UP, Australia, 1984.

We The Media

A Citizen's Guide to Fighting for Media Democracy

Don Hazen and Julie Winokur, eds. 1997; 222 pp. \$15.95. The New Press.

The book shows how the media is more interested in increasing entertainment value and advertising than enlightening the public and keeping the power systems of the world in check. Over a hundred commentaries by journalists, academics, and activists paint a grim picture of the concentration of media ownership, its commercialization, and the lack of public service journalism. *The Baffler's* Thomas Frank discusses how "hipness" has been co-opted by the major advertisers, who use beat poets, alternative music, and images of non-conformity to sell their projects. Ownership



diagrams of companies like Time Warner, Westinghouse, and General Electric illustrate how just a few companies control much of what the public sees on television and on newsstands. The last chapter lists activist websites, organizations, and even has a few success stories: one group organized a call-in and letter-writing campaign to combat the rise in hate radio jockeys. An inspiring, informative read. —Carolyn Gleeson

“Mayhem

Taken together as the “mayhem index,” stories about crime, disaster, and war constitute more than half the news.

Fluff

“Fluff” is the relative amount of soft news, anchor chatter, teases, and celebrity items compared to the amount of news. Roughly a third of the news is devoted to fluff.

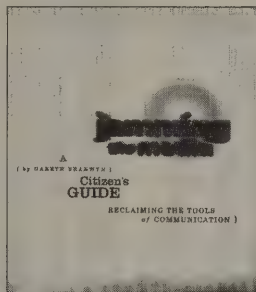
Jamming The Media

A Citizen's Guide—Reclaiming the Tools of Communication

Gareth Branwyn. 1997; 353 pp. \$18.95. Chronicle Books.

Once upon a time there was an ornery freelance graphic artist who felt his creativity was being crushed by trips back and forth to the drawing board. So he decided to reduce his time working on “happy packages” for corporate clients, and focus instead on discovering new ways to “jam” the hand that fed him. He found so many different ways of skewering the media, including the Internet, publishing zines, and pirate radio broadcasting, that he decided to share them in a book.

Gareth Branwyn's *Jamming the Media* includes a glossary of “new media terms” for those not well acquainted with the cyberworld, a section on how to be a hacker, and a listing of hip new zines that deconstruct media. Pirate radio broadcasts and media hoaxes are just two of his media-jamming methods, and he writes about them with the adolescent glee of a teenager who enjoys shooting spitballs at his teacher. This book offers a large variety of materials, sources, and how-to knowledge if you're new to the world of media jamming. Step by step instructions on how to use a television camera, film in Hi-8, or take to the radio airwaves, and access to many resources, including websites, magazines, publishing



software, and organizations that will help you in your quest to take back the tools of communication. —CG

“PIRATES OF THE MEDIASCAPE
Appropriation. Recuperation.

Plagiarism. Copying.
Cutting. Pasting. Sampling.

These could very well be the mantras of our age. The coupling of cheap, ubiquitous media technologies with the ability to sample the world around us has had a Promethean effect on our art, culture, and legal system. Sounds, images, text, and everything else have become stored bits

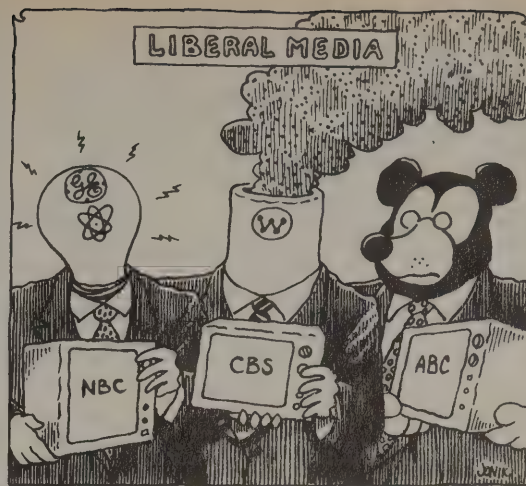
of light that can be endlessly replicated, morphed, and mutated. This development has called into question old notions of property, theft, place, and ownership

Monkeywrench the Media

Adbusters: Journal of the Mental Environment

Kalle Lasn, editor.
\$20/year (4 issues). The Media Foundation, 1243 West 7th Avenue, Vancouver, BC V6H 1B7, Canada 604/736-9401, fax 604/737-6021, adbusters@adbusters.org, www.adbusters.org.

We've touted Adbusters before (see Millennium Whole Earth Catalog, p. 253). But we didn't boost its website for brilliant ad spoofs, uncommercials, and the Culture Jammer's Toolbox.



“Fifty years ago approximately 400 cities supported two or more daily papers. Today the same can be said of a mere 24 cities and some of them have joint operating agreements. Ninety percent of newspaper circulation is controlled by companies whose corporate headquarters are far from the towns they serve.

of ideas. Artists and cultural activists, especially those on the fringes, have been grappling with the implications of all this throughout the twentieth century, most vehemently in the last few decades.

“A MAP OF ZINEDOM

Remember the game of croquet in Alice in Wonderland played with flamingoes as mallets and hedgehogs as balls? Trying to get a handle on the zine scene is like playing such a game. Zines pop into existence in one issue of *Factsheet Five* only to disappear one or two issues later. Attrition is so bad that the editors of *Factsheet Five* caution readers about sending off for zines listed in previous issues. They also carry a lengthy “Change of Address” listing and a “Dead Zines” column to track the lost and the dead. The best way to ‘map’ zinedom is by air, looking at the basic terrain rather than individual features.

The Art & Science of Billboard Improvement

Billboard Liberation Front. 1990; 12 pp. \$1.50. Los Cabrones Press. Available from Essential Media, PO Box 661245, Los Angeles, CA 90066-1245, 310/574-1554, fax 310/574-3060, underground@essentialmedia.com, www.essentialmedia.com.

A how-to guide from the ultimate billboard commandos.

Websites to Email Home About

► For great faked cereal boxes and other culture-jamming fun, go to www.abrupt.org/CJ/CJ.html.

► At members.tripod.com/~ThinkDoomed, you'll find skillfully sabotaged Apple “Think Different” billboards.

► And for more well-liberated billboards, see www.syntac.net/hoax/Billboard/index.html.

I LOVE MOVIES.

Okay, maybe that's not the most original way to begin an essay about the making of one particular movie. But, I mean, I really love movies. I always have. I love movies more than I love books, and believe me, I love books more than I love every human being, except the dozen or so people in my life who love movies and books just as much as I do.

Let me explain this in economic terms.

When I was ten years old, my family spent one-thousand dollars for a VCR, a video cassette recorder that would probably cost one-hundred dollars now.

Yes, we paid one-thousand dollars for a VCR that would probably cost one-hundred dollars now. But we bought our VCR in its infancy, when Beta and VHS were both hoping to win the hearts of cinephiles everywhere.

One-thousand dollars.

That was more money than my mother and father made as income during a good month. A good two months, in some years.

As a child, a thousand dollars and a million dollars meant the same thing to me—unattainable riches.

Yes, we were that poor, living in reservation poverty, which is like living in the basement of the skyscraper called poverty.

And yet, we paid one-thousand dollars for a VCR.

Why?

Because my family, collectively and individually, loved movies. I was six years old when I saw my first *Texas Chainsaw Massacre*. Or I should say, I was six years old when I first heard *Texas Chainsaw Massacre*.

It was at the East Sprague drive-in theater in Spokane, Washington.

My mother and father were in the front seat of the car while I was pretending to be asleep in the back seat.

I mean, I could have sat up front with my parents, and watched the movie.

They would not have objected.

You see, Indian parents tend to treat their children as adults. At any kind of Indian gathering—a powwow, a basketball tournament, a ceremony—a dozen Indian kids will roam unsupervised at all hours of the night. Some might think this is a passive form of child abuse, but it really is just a matter of respect and expectation.

My parents would have respected my decision to watch *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre*, but they would also have expected me to handle it with the appropriate maturity.

In other words, any resulting nightmares would have been my own responsibility. At least, my parents would have told me the nightmares were my responsibility as they let me climb into the safety of their bed after the latest such nightmare.

However, since I chose not to watch the movie, my parents respected that decision and expected me to fall asleep in the back seat.

But I could not fall asleep. I was too

fascinated by the sound of the dialogue, laughter, music, and buzzing chainsaws. I was terrified, of course, and would have nightmares for a few weeks afterwards. But I also had this need, this burning desire to sneak peeks at the screen.

Yes, when the buzzing chainsaws were at their loudest, I would peer over the front seat, between my parents' heads and catch brief glimpses of the incredible violence.

Why?

Because I knew there was a great movie going on and I was missing half of it.

An important note: the salesman who sold us our first VCR was a genius.

"Listen, folks," he said. "Go with VHS. Trust me. Beta just ain't going to make it."

I was on the set of *Smoke Signals* on the first day of filming. It was a cold, rainy morning in northern Idaho, meaning it was colder and rainier than anywhere else on the planet.

We were shooting a scene with our young actors, Cody Lightning and Simon Baker. Both boys were very nervous and were stumbling a bit over some difficult dialogue. They were beautiful.

My mom was there as well. And she was crying because she thought Simon, all dressed up in suit and glasses, looked just like me at the same age. We looked nothing alike, but I said nothing.

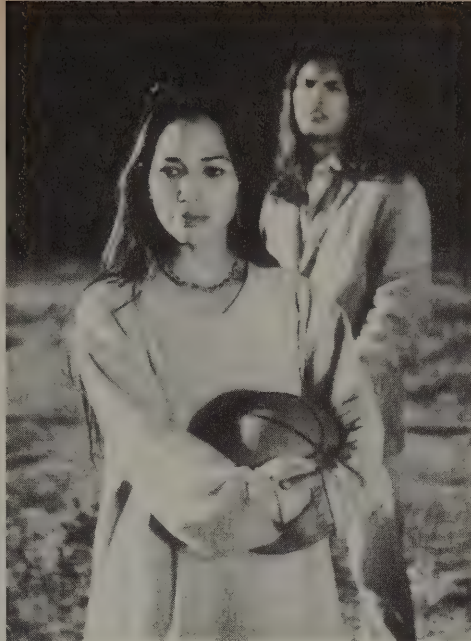
Nostalgia can be quite lovely.

One of our adult actors, Gary

by Sherman Alexie

Director Chris Eyre (left) and Sherman Alexie on the set of *Smoke Signals*.

Making Smoke



JILL SABELLA

Irene Bedard and Adam Beach, from *Smoke Signals*.

my big brother leapt to his feet and hugged me. He lifted me off the ground and hugged me until I could barely breathe.

My brother has hugged me twice. Once, when I hit two free throws to win a basketball game in high school.

And now, for the second time, when I helped make the movie which made him cry.

Of course, my big brother, tough as he pretends to be, cries at nearly every movie.

An Officer and a Gentleman, Old Yeller, Titanic, Police Academy. My brother cried at the end of all of those movies and more.

There is one man, a white man, who believed so much in this film, by and about Indians, that he completely financed it.

Amazing.

When people ask me, and they do ask me, how I feel about making the difficult transition to writing screenplays, I am not always sure what to say.

I mean, screenplays are more like poetry than like fiction. Screenplays rely on imagery to carry the narrative, rather than the other way around.

And screenplays have form. Like sonnets, actually. Just as there's expectations of form, meter, and rhyme in a sonnet, there are the same kinds of expectations for screenplays. Of course, free verse poetry subverts all expectations of formalist poetry. So, I wonder aloud, who is writing the free verse screenplays?

Once, after watching three or four Bruce Lee movies in a row with my father, I turned to him.

"Dad," I said. "Do you think Bruce Lee is the toughest fighter in the world?"

"I don't know," he said.

"There's probably some guy living in a one-room apartment in some downtown hotel in some stinky city, cooking and eating from a hot plate, while taking a shit and showering at the bathroom at the end of the hall, who is really the toughest fighter in the world."

"Dad," I said. "If Bruce Lee got into a fight with that guy, I'd pay to watch it."

A reminder: *Smoke Signals* is the first feature film written, directed, and co-produced by Indians to ever receive a major distribution deal. There have been many other Indian filmmakers, our elders, who made wonderful films that have been wrongfully ignored or dismissed.

Our film would not have been possible without the filmmaking efforts of previous generations of Indian writers, directors, producers and actors.

Since filmmaking is a collaborative sport, sort of like baseball, I'd like to introduce you to the *Smoke Signals* team:

Owner: Harvey Weinstein
 Manager: David Skinner
 Catcher: Larry Estes
 Pitcher: Chris Eyre
 First Base: Scott Rosenfelt
 Second base: Brian Capener
 Shortstop: Janet Fries Eckholm
 Third Base: BC Smith
 Left Field: The Crew
 Center Field: The Cast
 Right Field: Roger Baerwolf
 Relief Pitcher: Brian Berdan

But wait, you ask, what about the screenplay, what about the screenwriter? Doesn't he get a chance to play? Ladies and gentlemen, the screenplay is the ball. ⊕

Sherman Alexie is author of *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven, The Business of Fancydancing*, and reams more of funny/tough prose and poetry. Finally, one feels alive, and oddly well, on the rez, despite the obvious pains. An enchanted and enchanting American author/scriptwriter. —PW

"MAKING SMOKE" APPEARED ORIGINALLY IN *ABORIGINAL VOICES*, \$25/YEAR (6 ISSUES) 116 SPADINA AVENUE, SUITE 201, TORONTO ON M5V 2K6 CANADA, 416/703-4577, FAX 416/703-4581, ABVOICES@INFORMP.NET, WWW.CACMALL.COM.

Farmer, was yelling at the various members of the crew and chastising them for imagined slights and mistakes. Why was Gary yelling? I think he was getting into character, as the loud, abusive Arnold Joseph.

So I went into the makeup room and yelled at him for yelling. And because I wanted to help him get into character. During one of the later test screenings of the film, an audience member remarked that she thought Gary Farmer was a national treasure. It's true. My dad, my personal treasure, was there watching us film. We were filming in DeSmet, Idaho, the small town on the reservation where my father was born. Yes, a few feet away from the exact spot where my father was born. I watched the crew set up lights. My brothers and sisters were drinking coffee a few feet away from the lights.

I watched the producers huddle together.

My brothers and sisters huddled together in a van to take a break from the cold.

I saw the breath of our young actors as they spoke into the cold air.

My brothers and sisters talked about all of the movies they loved.

I knew, that no matter what else happened during the making of *Smoke Signals*, I was going to make movies for the rest of my life.

I used to think that movies were real. I mean, I thought, I truly believed, that every movie was actually a documentary.

I believed this long past the age when it could be considered cute.

Once, in Spokane, Washington, when I was eleven years old, an older, larger white kid called me a "dirty fucking Indian."

And I jumped on him, despite his size, fully expecting to be rescued by Billy Jack, the half-breed Indian and Vietnam War veteran portrayed by Tom Laughlin in a series of pulp movies.

My favorite films: *Midnight Cowboy, The Graduate, and Aliens.*

After we screened *Smoke Signals* in Seattle, I walked down the aisle to field questions from the audience.

As I neared the front of the theater,

Dynadigger

\$1295 plus freight. Brisco, Inc., 251 Buckeye Cove, Swannanoa, NC 28778, 704/298-1519.

I figure that \$1,295 could rent me enough high school students for all the heavy digging my back yard could ever stand. But if you need lots of holes or ditches for your reforestation project, landscaping business, or Christmas tree farm, and if you're averse to hiring undocumented immigrants to do your digging for you, check out the *Dynadigger*. Its two-stroke engine pounds an eighteen-inch blade in rapid-fire 3/8" strokes, something like a jackhammer. Good for digging in narrow confines, though, at forty-three pounds, not for the tender of back. —MKS



Groundbreakers Mini Series Gardening Tools

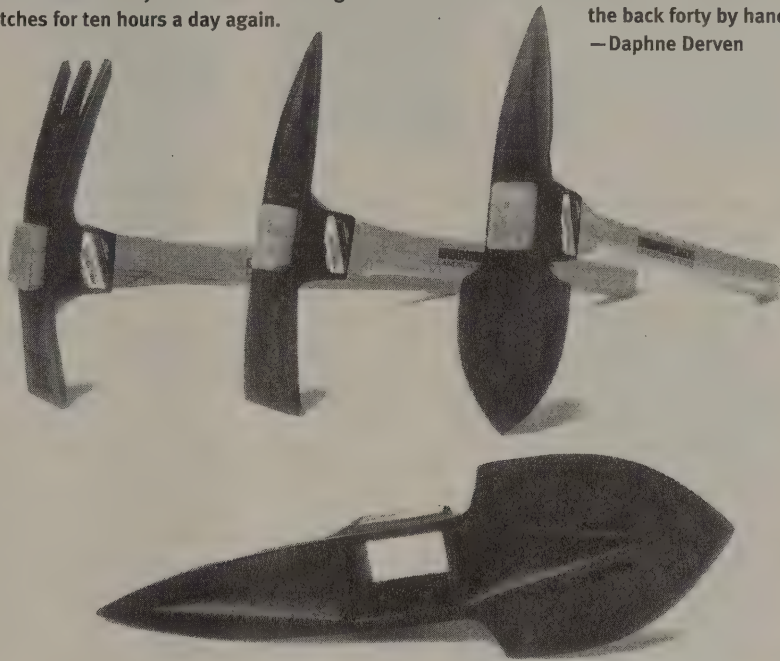
About \$13 each. V & B Manufacturing Company, available in large hardware and garden stores.

Between gardening and archaeology, I have spent most of my life digging ditches and very carefully removing thin layers of dirt, so I am very fussy about tools. These are awesome! They made me want to dig ditches for ten hours a day again.

V & B designed this series after they found out that people were buying their professional tools and shortening the handles. I tried the *Mini-Planter*, *Mini-Tiller* and *Mini-Pick*, but there is a wide range available.

As noted above, some are also available with longer handles. They all have beautiful balance and well-made heads, with a different work surface on each side. Highly recommended even if you don't plan to till the back forty by hand.

—Daphne Derven



Left to right:
Mini-Tiller,
Mini-Pick,
Mini-Planter.
Below:
Mini-Planter.

Liberator Bike Seat

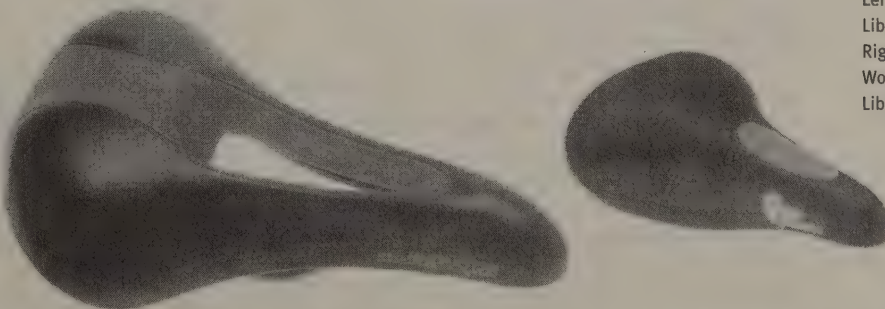
\$45 (plus \$5 shipping). Terry Precision Bicycles for Women, 1704 Wayneport Road, Macedon, NY 14502, 800/289-8379, fax 315/986-2104, www.terrybicycles.com.

Male bike riders have a secret (though not from their bored bedmates): after a long ride, most of 'em are unable to, uh, perform, due to Numbness of the Nether Regions. Females have problems that grow, so to speak, from riding too long with their corresponding regions underventilated. Various remedies (including Viagra)

have failed to help the boys, and an assortment of powders and brews have had mixed reviews from the girls. Now Terry, justly famed purveyor of bicycles made

especially for women (especially little ones) has come up with a radical seat called the Liberator. It features a huge, strategically located hole (drolly lined in red), with most other contours well-suited for mountain biking. Mine has dou-

bled the distance I can go before S&M becomes a factor, and it's reliably reported to cool overheated women as claimed. Reasonably lightweight @ 11 oz., and the price is right. —J. Baldwin



Left: Men's Liberator.
Right: Women's Liberator.

Accessible Gardening Tips and Techniques for Seniors and the Disabled

Joann Woy. 1997; 214 pp. \$16.95 (\$20.95 postpaid). Stackpole Books, 5067 Ritter Road, Mechanicsburg, PA 17055, 800/732-3669, fax 717-796-0412, sales@stackpolebooks.com, www.stackpolebooks.com.

Take your own measurements and customize your accessible garden for your greatest comfort. What is an easy reach now may become more difficult over time, so plan for the future as well.



When I was recovering from a back injury, this book would have been a godsend. In fact, some of the specifics would be useful in avoiding the sore muscles and strains that accompany gardening in general. *Accessible Gardening* provides great ideas for those who want to garden from wheelchairs, who use walkers, have trouble bending, or have reduced wrist or leg strength. To say the least, this is a very useful book with helpful sections on how to modify tools, surface paths for safety and beauty, raise plant beds to reduce stooping, and create accessible garden and garden path layouts. Many of the suggestions make gardens more intimate for any user.
—Daphne Derven

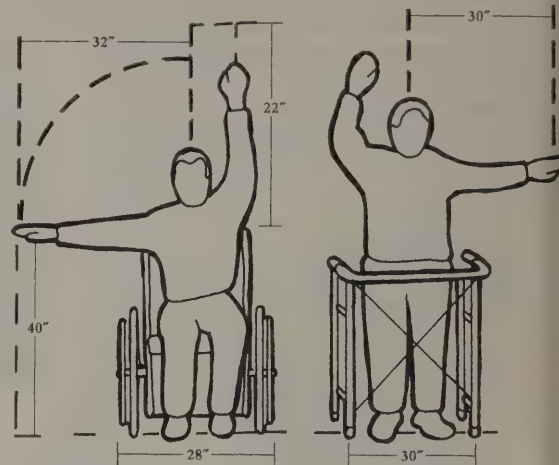


“From Rob Wade, South Orange, New Jersey: “I am a left hemi, as a result of a stroke five years ago, so I have some mobility. My best advice is that less is more. From an 8-by-10-foot plot, I have gotten three or four bushels of tomatoes and a bushel of cucumbers. I put in rows of lettuce and radishes along the long edge of the garden just by leaning out of my chair.”

“I can drag myself through the mud to plant the four tomato plants I limit myself to. It’s kind of fun getting all dirty...but it’s also more practical to invite my Mom up from Baltimore and then get her to plant my tomatoes!”

“Raised beds and containers can aid those with limited

mobility or reduced visual acuity by bringing the plants up closer rather than requiring the gardener to bend down to them....Raised beds are also of great benefit to the visually impaired gardener. By lifting plants closer to the eye (and nose) level, it’s much easier to determine what needs attention and to appreciate the colors, scents, and textures of plants growing in your garden.

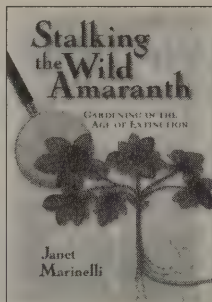


Stalking the Wild Amaranth Gardening in the Age of Extinction

Janet Marinelli. 1998; 238 pp. \$25. Henry Holt.

This is not a gardening book. It is definitely a book to read as you design your garden and consider your distant ancestors who first made the choice to tame and to shape the plant world around them. Janet Marinelli, a staffer at the fifty-two-acre Brooklyn Botanic Garden, says it well: “[This] is the story of my realization that contemporary gardening is out of whack with the theories evolving on the frontiers of science and philosophy, and of my personal quest for a new garden art that nurtures a greater richness and variety of earthly life.”

William Howard Adams is quoted about gardens: “Concocting bogus images of lost paradise only exposes our impoverishment....We are returning to the walled gardens of some barbarous medieval town, but without any of the metaphysics to transform our isolation into a civilized, revitalizing environment.” The seabeach amaranth in the title is one of the thousands of American species faced with extinction—plants that, with love, could be nurtured by gardening. —DD



“Everybody loves a good fight. I’m not talking here about sweaty guys in silk shorts duking it out; I mean the clash of ideas waged via computer in the op-ed pages of the papers or the Sunday news magazines. Gardeners have always been game to indulge in a bit of horticultural mudslinging. In the eighteenth century, tastemakers had had it with the topiary craze that reached its pinnacle during the reign of William and Mary, when virtually anything

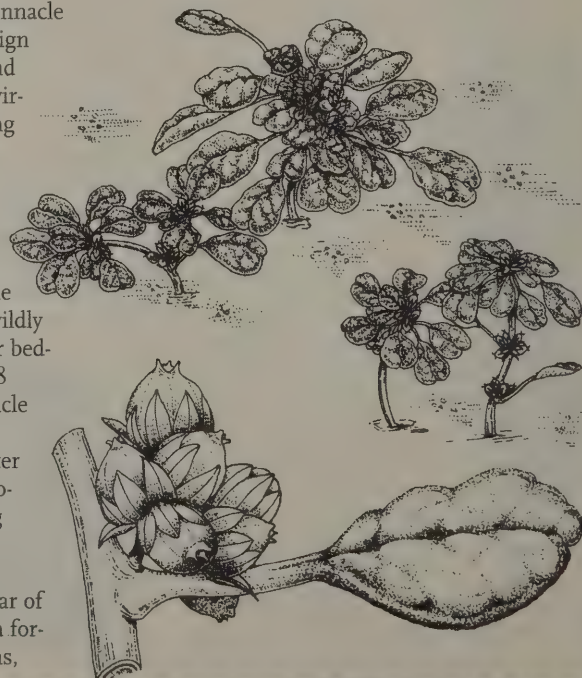
green was sheared into lollipops, spirals, poodles, or peacocks....

Two centuries later, the horticultural avant-garde was foaming at the mouth about the then wildly popular Victorian flower bedding schemes. In a 1908 *Ladies Home Journal* article entitled “Pimples on Nature’s Face,” one writer called such plans “stereotyped beds of screaming geraniums....”

In 1942, German botanists called for a “war of extermination” against a foreign species of *impatiens*,

Impatiens parviflora, that was seen as competing with *Impatiens nolitangere*, considered to be native.

Wolschke-Bulmahn’s coup de grace was his assertion that some American landscape-loving pioneers, themselves contemporaries of Seifert and other Nazi garden designers...had exhibited “similar tendencies toward racist argumentation.”



Seabeach amaranth (*Amaranthus pumilus*), showing the utricles containing its seaworthy seeds in the foreground.

Miracle Phone

\$199.95 suggested retail price.
Opentech, USA, 120 Chubb Avenue,
Lyndhurst, NJ 07071, 888/OPENTEC.



Cold-water surfers and long-time rockers and anyone else with hearing loss: stop wondering what people are saying to you on the phone! Other phones for the hearing impaired rely on amplified sound, which can damage hearing even further. Not the bone phone. Its vibrating pulsator transmits sound straight to the inner ear through the bones of your head, bypassing the outer and middle ear. Just press the handset to your forehead or cheekbone, and listen to the voices in your head. It can also be used as a regular phone. Features a visual ringer light. Needless to say, A GREAT GIFT! —LM



Bosch Rotary Cutter

\$69.00 suggested retail price. Bosch, at hardware and builders' supply stores.

You want to install a kitchen compost bucket. How do you cut a neat, round hole in the tile countertop? You guessed it. This thing will drill into most materials used in house construction, and then cut sideways to make a hole of any size and shape. Light weight and compact size make it easy to master without scary, expensive 'incidents.' I see a lot of these being used by drywallers to cut out the openings for light switches and ceiling light fixtures. (Don't forget your goggles.) —J. Baldwin

Coir (Coconut Husk Fiber)

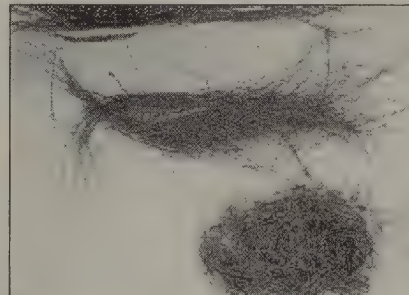
RoLanka International, Inc., 365 Toccoa Place, Jonesboro, GA 30236, 800/760-3215, www.rolanka.com.

All those abandoned coconuts along Caribbean beaches make me feel useless. What could be done with these hairy brown nuts, the size of children's heads, when their milk and meat are gone? I never cottoned to coconut husks dolled up to resemble the island's black girls and sold to tourists. Or split in half with stupid-looking sails to resemble Christopher Columbus's boats.

Finally, my utilitarian yearnings have been answered. Coconut fiber has been processed to separate out its fibers (coir) and recycled as erosion-control blankets, wetland shore protectors, mulch, potting "dust," basket liners, and plant growth plates. Technically, it's a fiber with a slow decomposition rate, high tensile strength and water-holding capacity (great for growing seedlings) and easily blends into the soil. Prices are very competitive with similar (usually wood-based) products. Add coir to hemp and kenaf as an alternative fiber whose time has come. —PW

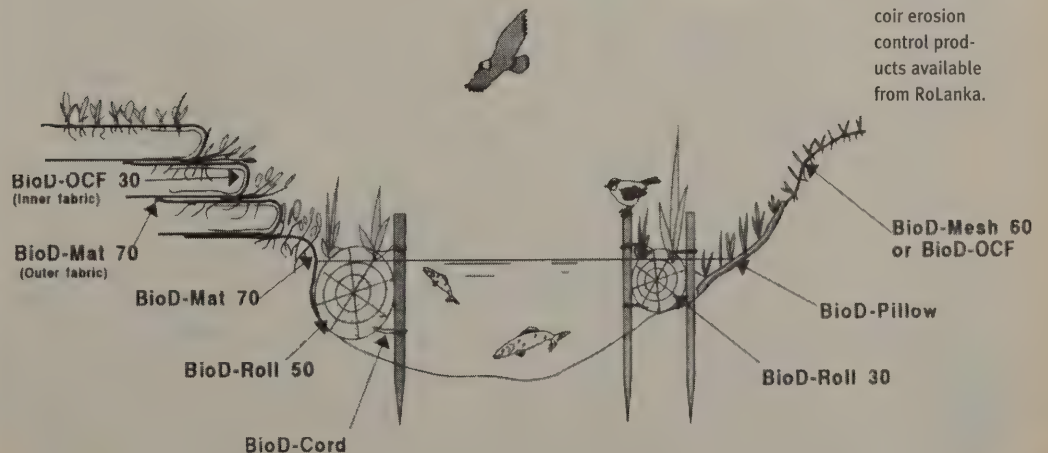


Coconut palm.



Far left: Intern Valerie Harris listens through her forehead.

Left: Husk fibers (coir) of various lengths.



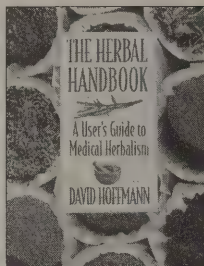
Some of the coir erosion control products available from RoLanka.

The Herbal Handbook A User's Guide to Medical Herbalism

David Hoffman. 1998; 240 pp. \$14.95.
Healing Arts Press.

David Hoffman's knowledge and expertise as an herbalist are extensive. In addition to traditional herbal lore, Hoffman keeps abreast of current pharmacological and medical papers that relate to herbalism or to plant constituents. In some ways, then, *The Herbal Handbook* is an understatement—the scientific data is integrated so seamlessly into the traditional lore that Hoffman's extensive technical and scientific background could easily be missed.

The book is organized around the actions of the plants (adaptogen, alterative, anthelmintic, anti-bilious, etc., etc., etc.) and around bodily systems. Hoffman lists four possible contexts or approaches to using herbs: traditional knowledge, pharmacology of active ingredients, within the framework of a philosophical system (e.g., Ayurvedic or Chinese), or within a new holistic approach.



While Hoffman states that none of these approaches is better or worse than the others, it is clear that the author has chosen the latter approach, and it suffices the book.

Under "nervine tonics," plants to strengthen a nervous system under stress or depression, the leading entry (ahead of St. John's Wort) is oats, most easily taken as gruel or porridge. I associate eating porridge with *sesshin*, where it is generally served every morning for breakfast:

"Porridge is effective in ten ways to aid the student of Zen...."

I know I always feel good after a *sesshin*, but I always attributed it to all of those hours of *zazen*. Now I have been eating porridge every morning and am already feeling clear, strong, virile....Thank you, David.

Other chapters in the book cover aromatherapy, herb cultivation, preparation of herbal medicines, herbs and cooking, herbs as dye plants, and potpourris. With bibliography and index. —Dale Pendell

“Any disease that manifests in the body must be seen in an emotional, mental and spiritual, as well as a physical, context. We must also remember that as part of the greater whole of humanity we

are, in a deep and mysterious way, connected with humanity's diseases, and immersed in a sea of impulses and factors not directly under our control. Many 'neuroses' met in today's western society are quite possibly normal responses to an absurdly abnormal environment, sane reactions of the psyche and emotions to the insanities of a diseased society.

In this sense, there is a limit to the healing of an individual, when the disease is really a reflection of society's disease. To be a healer in the late twentieth century involves an awareness of the whole and a certain amount of political insight, if not activity. For us to be whole, our society must be whole. For our society to be whole, we must be whole. For our society to truly reflect our highest aspirations, we have to live, embody and reflect those aspirations.

Herbal medicine can be an ecological and spiritually integrated tool to aid the nervous system of humanity, so that humanity can help itself. It is an ideal counterpart on the physical level for therapeutic techniques on the psychological level, to help people to embrace their wholeness.



Joshua and Kaia Tickell with the Veggie Van.

From the Fryer to the Fuel Tank How to Make Cheap, Clean Fuel from Free Vegetable Oil

Joshua Tickell, edited by Kaia Tickell. 1998; 87 pp. \$19.95 (\$22.95 post-paid). Greenteach Publishing, 15 Paradise Plaza, Suite 311, Sarasota, FL 34239. Orders by phone or mail from Bookmasters, PO Box 388, Ashland, OH 44805, 800/266-5564. van@veggievan.org, www.veggievan.org.

The Ingenious Spirit of the seventies is still alive and well! Back then, Whole Earth reported cars that ran on corn squeezins and

even chicken shit. Now, it's biodiesel—vegetable oil to you. Joshua and Kaia Tickell's 'Gretta, the Greasy Jetta' and 'Veggie Van' run on user-"refined" worn-out fryer grease, leaving the aroma of fish & chips in their wakes. They drove the Veggie Van on a 10,000-mile cross-country tour last year (including a stop at Whole Earth), fueled mostly by used french-fry oil picked up at fast-food joints along the way.

From the Fryer to the Fuel

Tank details the how-to aspects sufficiently to copy with reasonable hope of success, though the author does post a legal disclaimer absolving himself from the results of your stupidity (new thrusts never have come with a warranty). As always, I appreciate the philosophy and hubris driving this sort of adventure. You never know how far it will go (so to speak), or where it might lead.

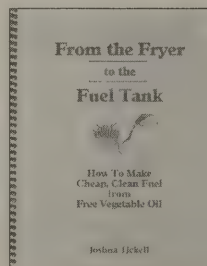
—J. Baldwin

“The United States alone generates up to 3 billion gallons of used fry-

ing oil annually. Estimates of how much fuel can be made from recycled cooking oil range from 5-10% of the total U.S. diesel use. As we discussed earlier, using this fryer grease offers a great way to "jump-start" the biodiesel industry. Most of the biodiesel plants in existence are already using recycled cooking oil to cut costs.

“We have collected used oil from every kind of restaurant all over the country, and they have always been happy to give it to us for free. We make sure to call ahead and go in and speak to the manager ahead of time, and try not to show up wanting to collect oil right away. You will find that if you explain a little about biodiesel to the restaurant manager, they will most likely be very happy to see their waste product going to such good use.

“Cooking oil is not the only cheap source of fat for making biodiesel. It can also be made from waste beef tallow, poultry fat, and other forms of animal lard. There have been a number of individuals who have approached us wondering if biodiesel could be made from roadkill. One fellow who was moving to Alaska wanted to devise a system to put in his trunk to convert dead deer to fuel!



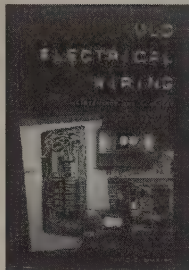
Old Electrical Wiring Maintenance and Retrofit

David E. Shapiro. 1998; 429 pp. \$39.95. McGraw-Hill.

I ever tell you about the time I went to drill a hole in the side of a tin barn? I wuz usin' an aluminum Black & Decker, and when the bit touched that corrugated steel siding, there was a flash and a zzzzzt! and it welded the bit right to the barn, and I got the shock of my life, which didn't end right then and there only because the drill got so hot it burned my death-grippin' hand and I let go.

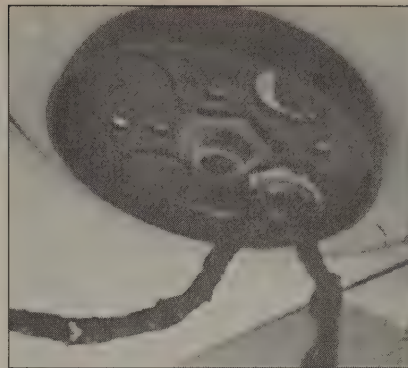
Problem? Some nitwit had grounded a hot leg of the 220 volt system on the barn frame back in 1940 or so. If we'd had this book, the mistake would have been easy to spot. It's an absolute must-have for folks working around ancient wires and associated hardware. Lots of photos and an anecdotal writing style make it easy to understand and apply, assuming a wee bit of caution, a modicum of horse sense, and perhaps some thick rubber gloves. —JB

“Hodge-podged bypasses are employed to save some commercial, institutional and industrial occupancies not from danger but from the inconvenience



of having to replace a fuse. You are likely to find this sort of criminal creativity most frequently, albeit not exclusively, in some old shop that has plenty of scrap materials on hand to use in creating a substitute for an out-of-stock or frequently blown fuse. A short length of copper plumbing tubing is probably the most common substitute for a cartridge fuse with cylindrical ends. One benighted soul fit a rifle cartridge in a fuseholder!

“If the conductors were sized so as to safely carry the maximum current the sun could generate from the panel to which they were attached, the Code did not require overcurrent protection.



A pancake box that lacks mounting ears.

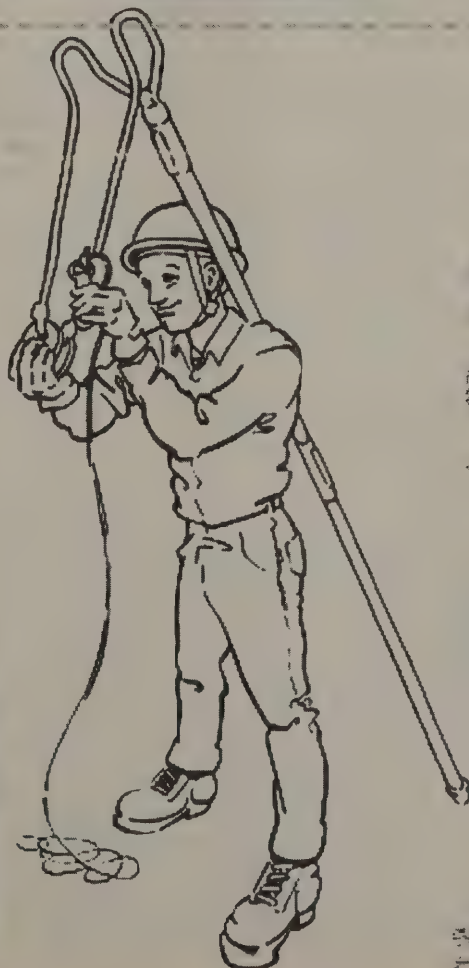
Unfortunately, when a fault occurred and the blocking diodes preventing backfeeds failed, those conductors could experience considerable overloads, resulting in fires. Just because an installation is cutting edge, like PV [photovoltaics], does not mean that you can assume its wiring is in accordance with current safety standards. It might be just old enough to be dangerous.

Left: Old-timey splices. Unwrap the friction tape and you find a solid mass of rubber.

Big Shot Pole Mounted Slingshot

Approx. \$110 for basic head and pole, \$250 with shotbag, line, rod, and reel. W. T. Sherrill, Inc., 3101 Cedar Park Road, Greensboro, NC 27405, 800/525-8873, www.wtsherrill.com.

Yeah, all this is, is a giant, industrial-grade slingshot. Tree surgeons use it to lob safety ropes over 120-foot-high branches; rescuers to sling a line 240 feet to unfortunate rafters wrapped around a midstream boulder, power line workers to pull a wire over an obstacle. It's easier to aim than you might think—a bit of practice should soon squelch frustrating ineptitude and wayward missiles. The basic device can be augmented with an assortment of accessories for specialized duties. Spare parts are available. And yes, an imaginative, um, child, mm-hm, might be tempted to high-velocity naughtiness. —JB (suggested by Jackson Clark)

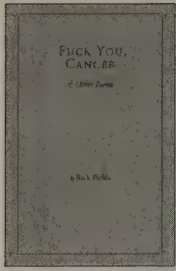


Left to right: Big Shot accessories.

Loading the Big Shot.

A successful launch.





Fuck You, Cancer & Other Poems

Rick Fields. 1997; 37 pp. \$10 (\$11 postpaid). Crooked Cloud Projects, 48 Shattuck Square, Box 42, Berkeley, CA 94704.

“ HEART

My heart
is broken
Open.

“ DOESN'T SEEM POSSIBLE

A phone call:
Lex is dead.
And you just think:
Lex is dead.
You send him your breath
And take back his death
It doesn't seem possible
So you go to your cushion
You take in his death
And send your breath
A soft wind for you
Old friend, poet,
Perennial student, tireless teacher,
Great benefactor,
To ride the full length and depth
Of this vast impossible
Ocean sky tide
Fierce undertow, overtow,
Wave after wave
Goodbye: Come back
Don't forget your impossible
Doesn't seem possible vow
Wave after wave
Don't forget
All these numberless
Sentient beings still left to save.

Selfishly, it's lovely to have this book, *Fuck You, Cancer*, despite the fact which prompts much of its writing. People are alive for real and whatever fact of that can find such words as these is immensely useful for all concerned. Just so, W. C. Williams: "You will not find it there but in / despised

“ FUCK YOU, CANCER

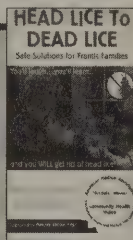
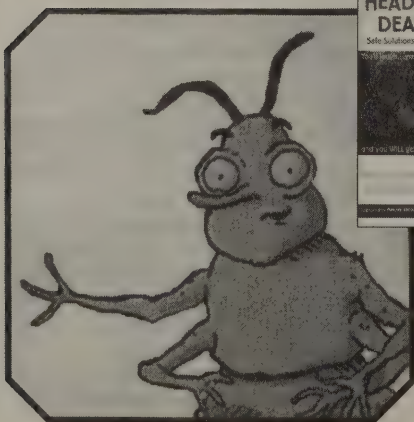
I
Driving listening to syrupy
Indian crossover music
I suddenly burst
Suddenly broke
Into tears
Sobs
Sweeping racking my body
Pouring out of my eyes
And I opened my mouth
Screamed
Raged
Yelled
With all my radiation
Scarred lungs
FUCK YOU CANCER
FUCK YOU
FUCK YOU CANCER
And kept on crying through
The Golden Gate Park
And over the Golden Gate Bridge.

II
Like a dam bursting
With raspy voice you thought you'd
silenced
Like a jungle vine choking a delicate
flowering tree
Paralyzing the right vocal chord they said
Never come back more than a whisper
they said
But I fooled them and you
I'll sing sweet songs later
Right now all I want to do
Is scream shout yell
Fuck you cancer fuck you

poems..." It's got to be the power that writing can have which makes all the bleak prospect into sustenance and old time warmth here. "And still / I'll sing my song." So onward! The poems sound clear as a bell—and whatever world, us chickens are all in it together. —Love, Bob (Robert Creeley)

“ ODE

A little cell
loses its way
goes astray
The gates of hell
creak open
stench of sulfurous decay
A teenie tiny bit
of living matter
A cell
Forgets to die
takes upon itself
to multiply
Little cell
where are you going?
Please stop growing
Like everything born
both you and I
have our time to die
Don't be a thorn
in the soul of my life
don't be a knife
in the heart
of my life
Go away you've had your fun
I've got things to do
places to see
races to run



Head Lice to Dead Lice

Safe Solutions for Frantic Families
15 minute video. \$19.95 (\$26.90 priority postpaid). Sawyer Mac Productions, PO Box 862, Armonk, NY 10504, 888/DIE-LICE, fax 914/273-7567, sawyermac@aol.com, www.headliceinfo.com.

Seems like everything has been conspiring against me the last few weeks—culminating yesterday in a severe attack of head lice on my little girls which I just had to treat. That took two and a half hours—time I'd been setting aside for trying to get to grips with the commons piece. Now if ever there was a commons, head lice is it. There's a

total epidemic here in England at the present (it's estimated that at any moment between fifteen and twenty-five percent of all children have got them). It cuts across barriers of class and hygiene. Nobody knows why it's so virulent, and treating it is a pointless exercise because they just get it again three weeks later from another friend. Yesterday I must have removed in the region of 1,000 eggs from their hair.... —Brian Eno

Itching to get rid of head lice? Watching *Head Lice to Dead Lice* is your best bet. And its five-step battle plan includes effective non-toxic treatment options. —LM

Grilling

DAPHNE DERVEN

If you combine gardening and grilling, you have linked several of our oldest pastimes: trying to control your food from seed to edible, preparing it over a fire, and eating outdoors. The main lesson: charring is desirable for flavor gain.

Born to Grill

An American Celebration

Cheryl Alters Jamison and Bill Jamison. 1998; 500 pp. \$27.95. Harvard Common Press.

The Vegetarian Grill

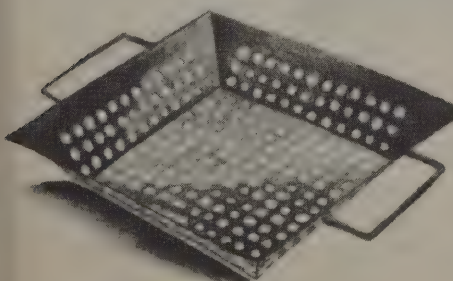
200 Recipes for Inspired Flame-Kissed Meals

Andrea Chesman. 1998; 296 pp. \$14.95. Harvard Common Press.

In *The Vegetarian Grill*, everything, including salads, is cooked directly over the flame. The special vegetable grill that Andrea describes well is pretty necessary equipment. Without it—you can trust me on this—a lot of time can be spent trying, and failing, to reclaim fallen vegetables. Needless to say I did not have the special grill, and the asparagus was quite tricky. Minted Couscous Salad with Grilled Asparagus, Eggplant Pizza with Goat Cheese, Mediterranean Mixed Grill with Aioli, and Grilled Figs with Orange Cream were all flavorful, relatively easy, and truly different.

I think of meat grilling as primal, and certainly not cute. Recipes for things called “Hot-to-Trot Turkey Legs,” “All Ribbing Aside,” and “Vietnamese Fajitas” would usually result in book-tossing on my part. However, if you totally ignore the recipe titles, there are some wonderful dishes in *Born to Grill*, with the grilling part clearly explained. Lemon Rosemary Chicken and Cumin Fries were delicious and easy to prepare. The ubiquitous “S’mores” with homemade marshmallows and homemade graham crackers were fabulous.

“What the vegetable grill rack does is enable you to cook vegetables that are already cut into bite-size pieces. Basically,



it allows you to sauté over an open flame. With the kiss of the flame, the naturally occurring sugars in the vegetables become caramelized, adding a new layer of flavor and texture to the foods you cook.

Bite-size vegetables cook faster than large slices, and yet they have a stronger grill flavor because of the increased surface area that is exposed to the heat. Because they don't have to be chopped after grilling, the vegetables are more likely to retain their heat and texture as they are moved quickly from grill to table. Veggie burgers and tofu slices, which have a tendency to fall apart on the grill, hold their shape on the vegetable grill rack. —THE VEGETARIAN GRILL

“GRILLED FIGS WITH ORANGE CREAM

Grilling—really roasting—brings out the fruit's delicate flavor. While figs are delicious served plain, hot off the grill, I especially like them with the mascarpone-based dip.

- 1/2 cup mascarpone cheese
- 1 tablespoon Grand Marnier, Cointreau, or other orange-flavored liqueur
- 1 tablespoon honey
- 12 ripe fresh figs

1. Prepare a low fire in the grill.
2. To make the orange cream, combine the mascarpone, liqueur, and honey and mix well.
3. Skewer the figs.
4. Grill the figs, turning occasionally, until the skins blacken and become somewhat glossy, about 10 minutes.
5. To serve, make a mound of the orange cream on each plate and surround with the grilled figs, sliced open if desired. Serves four. —THE VEGETARIAN GRILL

“The Two-Level Fire. Many foods benefit from grilling at two different tem-

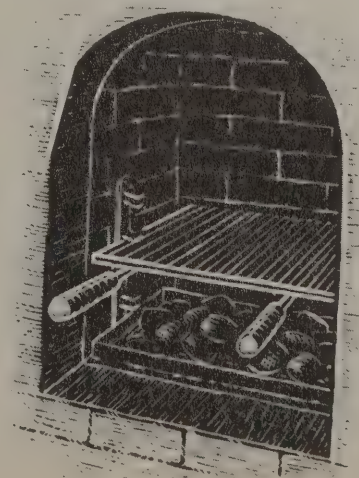
peratures, usually starting at a relatively high level and then finishing at a reduced level, a tactic we employ in a number of our recipes. The old rule in charcoal grilling was to spread the hot coals in a single layer, just touching each other, directly under the food. That approach still works when you want steady, even heat, but it gives you less flexibility and cooking capability than a two-level fire...

As an alternative method, we sometimes construct a “ring of fire” around a cooler center, akin to the way many people arrange the coals for indirect cooking on a covered grill. We stack all the charcoal along the outer wall of the firebox, leaving an empty doughnut hole in the middle. The center gets ample heat for the last stage of grilling without any coals directly underneath, virtually eliminating flare-ups and fat smoke. —BORN TO GRILL

“Most recent enhancements are limited to fine-tuning details, such as hinged grates (making it easier to add charcoal), closed ash-catchers, and convenient lid holders. You might want to upgrade a hibachi—too small for most home purposes—or an aging brazier that wobbles when you walk by, but most types of charcoal grills remain as proficient today as they were yesterday...

If you want a combination charcoal grill and smoker with an easily adjustable firebox for any level of heat, you simply can't do better than a Hasty-Bake (800-4AN-OVEN), made by a small Oklahoma company since 1948. —BORN TO GRILL

“If you find that you like the flavor and challenges of working with wood, consider buying one of the several styles of Tuscan grills made to fit inside a patio, kitchen, or living room fireplace. Chef Alice Waters, of Chez Panisse fame, located a version in Italy that a friend of hers sometimes imports and sells at The Gardener (510-548-4545) in Berkeley.



Ring of fire grill.

Left: Grill-wok. Right: Tuscan grill.



New Editions and New Resources on Topics from Past Issues

Our Bodies, Ourselves for the New Century A Book by and for Women

The Boston Woman's Health Book Collective. 1998; 780 pp. \$24. Touchstone.

In the dark ages of the 1970s, a woman with the wherewithal to take control of her own health care status, wrestling with the then-male-dominated world of doctors, had but one serious resource on her side...a modest book from the Boston Women's Health Collective called *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. It's not surprising that the book

became a sacred text. But unlike the writers of too many other sacred texts, the authors of *Our Bodies* were never content to let their guide age and grow outdated. This, the fourth major revision, weighs in at a hefty 780 pages and remains the single best resource for any woman who cares about her own health care. Now dozens, if not hundreds, of other books aim squarely at women and touch upon medical empowerment, but none comes close to achieving the justly authoritative status of *Our Bodies*. Examining sexuality, sex health, fertility, child-bearing, alcohol and tobacco, holistic approaches to health care, aging, environmental health, diet, health policy, and a myriad of other topics, this is the one book that no woman should be without, and the one that we should pack in the bottom of the suitcase when we send our daughters off to college. —Patrizia DiLucchio

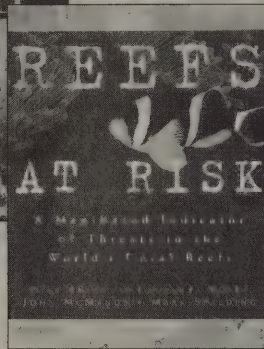
The Age of Heretics Heroes, Outlaws, and the Forerunners of Corporate Change

Art Kleiner. 1996; 414 pp. \$32.50. Doubleday.

Thankfully, this is no organizational self-improvement screed, with earnest bullet-point lists of new behaviors to adopt and charts comparing some bad old paradigm with some good new paradigm. The book is a history, based on exhaustive interviews with the still-living principals. I found myself repeatedly grateful to learn the origins of things I've run into such as the T-groups which brought confrontational honesty into organizations, for good and ill. I was delighted to see a full account of Herman Kahn's great influence,

and of the sequence of events at Royal Dutch/Shell. The savvy author asserts, "If you are a manager, you...might get a feeling for the influence that the ideas you work with today could have on the direction of civilization during the next century." And Kleiner annotates his bibliography; why doesn't everyone? —Stewart Brand (courtesy of

Global Business Network)



The Enchanted Braid Coming to Terms with Nature on the Coral Reef

Osha Gray Davidson. 1998; 269 pp. \$24.95. John Wiley & Sons.

Reefs at Risk

A Map-Based Indicator of Threats to the World's Coral Reefs

Dirk Bryant, et al. 1998; 56 pp. \$20 (\$25 postpaid). World Resources Institute Publications, PO Box 4852, Hampden Station, Baltimore, MD 21211, 800/822-0504, fax 410/516-6998, valeriev@wri.org. Downloadable version at www.wri.org.

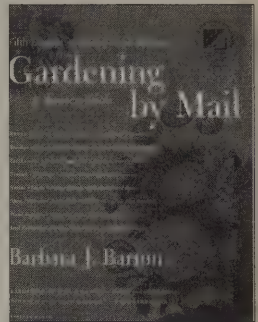
Had they existed, we would have included both these books near the top of our coral reef resources (Whole Earth No. 93). *The Enchanted Braid* is a non-technical natural history; a tale of coral-love obsession, from Darwin's to the author's; and an account of assaults on and compulsions to save the "soul of the sea." It's the best introduction we've seen, with striking photographs and a thirteen-page (unannotated) bibliography, though you'll need to look elsewhere—start with Whole Earth!—for access to conservation groups. *Reefs at Risk* features the best combination of good color maps and bioregional surveys of threats to coral reefs. The report is an indicator analysis, so it's slight on policy recommendations. It tempers its often dispiriting findings with descriptions of promising conservation and restoration efforts from every coral reef region. —MKS

Gardening by Mail A Source Book (Fifth Edition)

Barbara Barton. 1997; 356 pp. \$24. Houghton Mifflin.

The yellow pages for gardeners, this Whole Earth favorite is back, updated and revised. This is as comprehensive as it gets, covering public gardens, publications, supplies and organizations—and eight sources for popcorn.

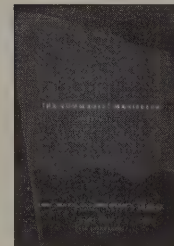
Plant and seed sources, indexed by plant type and source location, run for more than 120 pages. Many sources are very specialized, listing a horticultural search firm or sources which only sell jojoba, bamboo, or bearded iris. This book is full of possibilities and temptations, and can make your dream garden a reality. —Daphne Derven



The Communist Manifesto A Modern Edition

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Verso edition 1998; 87 pp. \$13. Verso.

Happy 150th birthday to the most famous (if not actually read) political treatise ever written.

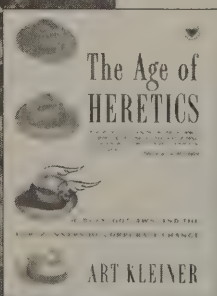
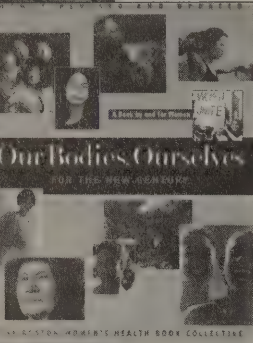
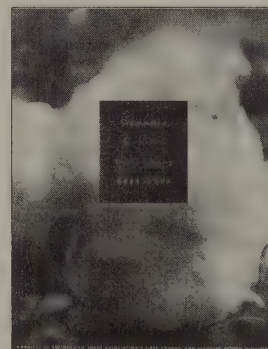


Organic Cotton Directory 1998-1999

1998; 50 pp. \$15 (\$18 postpaid). Organic Trade Association/Organic Fiber Council, PO Box 1078, Greenfield, MA 01302, 413/774-7511, fax 413/774-6432, ota@ogc.org.

A new fiber-information source (Whole Earth No. 90) from the Organic Trade Association's Fiber Council and the Pesticide Action Network. The directory combines discussion of the organic cotton market, and issues facing it, with

access information for organic cotton farmers, brokers, merchants, certification groups, suppliers, support organizations and services, mills, and retailers. The publishers hope that this will be the first of many editions, and invite submissions for future issues. —MKS



Fooling with Nature

\$19.98 (\$24.23 postpaid). PBS Video, PO Box 751089, Charlotte, NC 28275-1089, 800/328-PBS1, www.pbs.org.

This PBS broadcast accurately captures the major strands of the debate over whether synthetic chemicals cause health problems by interfering with normal hormone function (Whole Earth No. 90). "Frontline" bent over backwards to be even-handed, letting everyone refer to the issue as the endocrine disruptor "hypothesis." It showed testimony before the EPA of many industry reps, and few who expressed concern about chemicals and called for more precaution, though the latter greatly outnumbered the former. In spite of such problems, *Fooling With Nature* should receive widespread and ongoing attention. People who watch it will better understand the issue, and knowledge is power.

—Davis Baltz

Legends of the Ukulele

1998; \$16.98. Rhino, 800/432-0020, www.rhino.com.

You read Jim Beloff's *The Ukulele: A Visual*

History (Whole Earth No. 91). Now get the CD, produced by Beloff for Rhino. A generous definition of "legends" makes room for everyone from Tiny Tim, "Ukulele Ike," and Arthur Godfrey to Beloff himself, the Ka'au Crater Boys, and a truly memorable rendition of "Stars and Stripes Forever" by the Kalima Brothers. WE staff favorite: "Johnny B. Goode," as you have never heard it before, performed by the Ukulele Orchestra of Britain. Put this on at your next party and find out who your real friends are. —WC

USDA Organic Standards.

Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman announced in May that the USDA will make fundamental revisions in its proposed national organic standards (Whole Earth No. 92), after receiving more than 220,000 comments. Glickman promised that the "Big Three"—allowance of biotech organisms, use of irradiation in food processing, and application of municipal sludge—"will not be included" in the revision due sometime before the end of the year. Organic foods activists are continuing to pressure the USDA over other provisions, including lack of a biodiversity focus, weak livestock standards, removal of enforcement authority from certification groups, and over-allowance of pesticide residues. Some have suggested that the Big Three were a red herring, included to draw attention away from other provisions favoring agribusiness at the expense of the farmers who built the organic movement and who have lobbied for strict certification standards.

Health Care Without Harm

Eighty-eight organizations from four countries have now joined the HCWH campaign (Whole Earth No. 90). In part because of HCWH pressure, the American Hospital Association entered into a Memorandum of Understanding with the EPA in June, setting targets of thirty-three percent total waste reduction by 2005, and fifty percent reduction by 2010, and inviting AHA member hospitals to commit to becoming mercury-free by 2005. Elsewhere, Browning Ferris Industries, the world's largest medical waste disposal company, announced in June that it plans to close ninety percent of its incinerators nationwide and switch to a safer treatment technologies—a significant victory in the HCWH campaign against unnecessary incineration of medical waste. In June, HCWH released the first environmental survey ever done of top hospitals in the US. —Davis Baltz

Turtle-safe Shrimp

We should have mentioned Earth Island Institute's *Sea Turtle Restoration Project* in Whole Earth No. 93. STRP

employs a multi-faceted strategy to protect sea turtles in ways that meet the needs of the turtles and the needs of the local communities who share the beaches and waters with them.

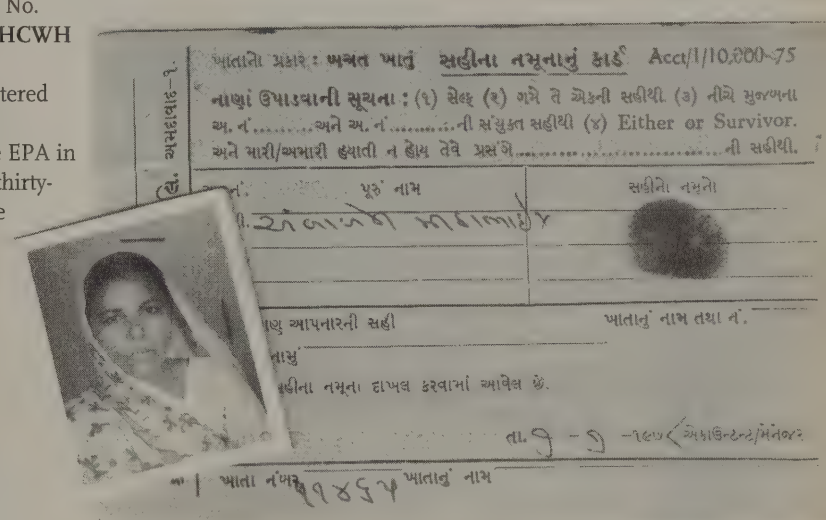
In July, STRP launched a turtle-safe shrimp campaign, based on Earth Island's campaign to save the dolphin. The campaign hopes to create consumer demand for shrimp caught by boats using turtle-extruder devices (Whole Earth No. 93), which allow turtles to escape from shrimp nets. Federal law requires all shrimp sold in the US to be caught by boats using TEDs, but Earth Island contends that many shrimpers do not comply. Shrimpers wishing to be certified as turtle-safe agree to make their nets subject to unannounced inspection by Earth Island staffers. Earlier, India, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Thailand filed a complaint to the World Trade Organizations against the federal restrictions. In April, the WTO ruled that the US law violates free trade; the US government has announced that it will appeal.

Sea Turtle Restoration Project, PO Box 400, Forest Knolls, CA 94933, 488/0370, fax 415/488-0372, seaturtles@igc.apc.org, www.earthisland.org.

News

Keep Off the Grass

Melbourne, Australia. No grass cutting and golf on smog alert days?! Cutting grass and trampling it release greenhouse gases and play a significant role in urban air pollution (Whole Earth No. 93). Up to ten percent of hydrocarbons entering the atmosphere of Melbourne contribute to photochemical smog. No cutting or walking: 650 micrograms of hydrocarbons per sq. meter per hour. For clover, 2050 micrograms. For mowing, times 180. As much as 50 kg. per hectare per year of VOCs (volatile organic compounds) from lawns and pastures. Oxygenated hydrocarbons—hexanals—are released when enzymes in grass encounter oxygen.



The National Commission for the Certification of Acupuncturists

The NCCA (Millennium Whole Earth Catalog, p. 190) has changed its name to **National Certification Commission for Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine** to better reflect its range. It has moved to 11 Canal Street Plaza, Suite 300, Alexandria, VA 22314, 703/548-9004.

Above: This ID card did not arrive from India in time to be included in our article on the **Self-Employed Women's Association** (Whole Earth No. 92). The photo and fingerprint allow women who cannot sign their names to make transactions without a signature.



Whole Earth is a conversation. Compliments, cavils, and corrections are welcomed. Letters may be (reluctantly) edited for space. Write to 1408 Mission Avenue, San Rafael, CA 94901 or wer@well.com.

Former Asst. Editor Hits the Road

Achin' legs, but every kilometer has been worth it, and the long rides through corn, barley, and cabbage fields are rewarded with dunkel bier—*gut!* The walled medieval *dorfs* are amazingly quaint—Dinkelsbühl, Röthenburg... and today we came down out of the hills, along the Pegnitz River, to land ourselves in Hersbruck. The bells are tolling dinner, so I'll say *auf wiedersehen* for now. Happy production to all!

LIZ THOMPSON
Bicycling through Germany

Good Grades

Whole Earth arrived at the same time as my alumni news and a small interest check from a local community development fund. When I asked myself where I'd learned more, college or Whole Earth, the answer was easy. Enclosed find a small donation from a fellow student.

I have been a reader since the first catalog and have used information I've found in your publications for community and environmental activism; crafts; design and building; poetry; and life skills. I've been pleased to see some improvement in your recognition of women and feminism over the years. I recently took a job doing internet indexing and often think of the contribution of the WELL and other efforts to making the Web take off.

Good luck in this incarnation.
KATHLEEN O'DONNELL
Philadelphia, PA

European Organic

I appreciated your magazine, which I discovered during a recent visit to the US, very much. Personally, I think it would make sense if the alternative sector in the US and the EU would collaborate closer, in the future. It seems to me that there are not so many ties—but I do see reasons for them. I will share some of the articles with my friends from IFOAM here in Germany.

Thanks to Daniel Imhoff for your excellent article on "Organic Incorporated." What is being attempted right now with the planned "unfriendly takeover" of organic agriculture by corporate American agribusiness is indeed a big issue for the American organic

agriculture movement—but also for the organic agriculture movements in other parts of the world. We in Europe apply a basic standard system which is our minimum acceptable denominator for organic agriculture and which we will never allow to get watered down any further by standards such as the ones proposed by USDA. In my work on promoting organic agriculture in SE Asian countries I could observe as well that we are arriving now at a highly critical point at which we need creativity and assertiveness in order to protect what we have created over the past twenty-five years. Even in Thailand you may see now big agribusiness setting up organic contract-farming schemes for organic export crops. As soon as organic becomes a global market product it will not be a national issue, anymore.

GABRIELE STOLL
Aachen, Germany

Desecrated Land, Devastated Hearts

I recently picked up my first copy of Whole Earth, Winter, 1997. I was very touched by all the accumulation of various topics. The one I write about in particular was "The Heart of Genuine Sadness." The article so touched my heart, for you see I am from SE Arizona, and I am very aware of the plight of Apaches, and the telescopes on Mt. Graham. To most people around Safford, AZ, Mt. Graham is very sacred, whether we be red or white. Anyone who has ever spent any time on this mountain needs only listen in quiet solitude to feel the majesty and sacred heart nestled deep in the heart there. It tore my heart to learn of these telescopes in the past years, and I agree, it has been desecrated. As a matter of fact, the plight of SE Arizona goes even deeper there, as copper mines vie for land to strip mine.

My husband and children grew up there, and the Pinaleños and other mountains run deep in our veins. My husband grew up worshipping the land, running cattle, and for us, it broke our hearts to see these horrible changes occurring, so we left.

Now settled into SE Washington State, I am thrust into the Tri-cities,

where I live with Hanford radioactivity, toxic waste, among other deadly government-induced gases. I learned it was here that the bomb was built that destroyed Nagasaki.

No matter where our travels take us, this desecration is there, widespread and continuing at an alarming rate. We must all band together to protest, if we have any hope of stopping this destruction.

KARLA J. GOLDING
Kennewick, WA

Mother Earth, Father God

I'm sorry to say I won't be renewing my subscription. I've been with you quite a while—off and on since '76 when I got my first WEC from my brother—but I find that the topics and opinions expressed in Whole Earth increasingly conflict with my Catholic Faith. Yes Earth/Gaia is our mother, but she and we were created by God, our Father.

Thanks for the ride!
CHRIS HARRIS
By email

Raves and Rants

Your big summer issue arrived yesterday, and although I'm only halfway through it I've got to tell you how impressed I am: not only is it interesting and nicely designed, it flows with a nice logical sequence of subjects. Good job. I don't know how you—or anyone—can pull that much material together and make it work.

MALCOLM WELLS
Brewster, MA

Your magazine is next to impossible for me to read anymore. You have over-powered your content with endless graph-



ic messages that block your message. You are trying to crowd too much material into each issue. The combination of your layout (no white space, three-six topics per page, four-seven graphics per page, two-three different shadings per page, bizarre fonts and odd-sized headlines, tiny print with book reviews)—all of this adds up to a lack of focus and a residual feeling for the reader of “missing out” on the majority of what you have to offer.

I used to look forward to your magazine. I considered it to be one of the leading journals in the country that looked at cultural, technological, spiritual, and sustainable issues and systems. Your choices used to reflect a deliberate selection on the part of the editors. Each issue was readable from cover to cover and NOT jam-packed with too much information. I used to have a sense of who your writers were and what they believed. They wrote to me directly in an intimate and conversational style, and gave me personal feedback on what they thought and what they experienced in their lives. Their critical eye, hands-on experience, and humorous tone added to

the quality of my own life and life work. The personal dimension shaped the credibility of the old Whole Earth.

What are you trying to accomplish with your new format? Provide as many sources on as many topics as possible? I don't need a magazine to do that for me. I can go to the Internet for endless information on any topic I want.

Sorry to rant. This is the first time I have disliked your journal, and that is a big step for someone who used to tell her friends it was the leading journal for grassroots alternative systems thinking in the country.

MARY REHWALD
Ashland, WI

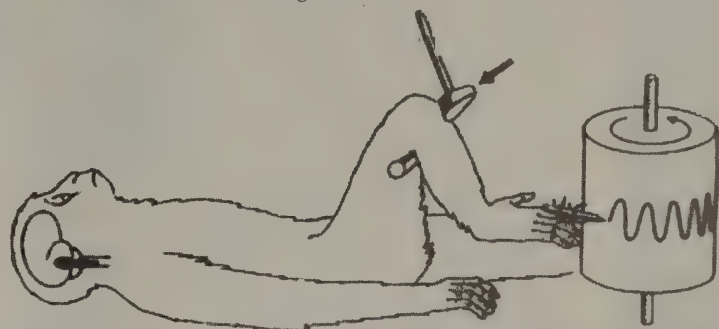
I can hardly contain my enjoyment of how “different” this new Summer, 1998 edition feels. Maybe it's that wonderful color collage Table of Contents. Maybe it's the new Ecostructure/Infrastructure category that is finding its stride? Maybe it's the

feel of the hemp paper? I don't know. The cover is *exxxceptional* coloring!!

You have certainly *turned a corner* (to somewhere?) with this issue; I hope the staff in general can sense this improvement, as this reader can. It must be difficult to stay as fresh and relevant as you do.

Continue the path that you're on. Count me in for next year's subscription. Continued success with your good works. (P.S. “City-ologist” Rybczynski's “Façade” entry shines. Please invite his further submissions).

DENNIS VAVREK
San Diego, CA



YOUR OPINION IS IMPORTANT AND DECISIVE

LYNNIA ECLLUS, *Adbusters*

Thanks

Whole Earth is grateful to these people who have provided editorial assistance; illustration and permissions procurement; and business, fundraising, and circulation help on this issue.

- Dick Anderson (Calif. Energy Commission)
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- Martha Nudell (Land Trust Alliance)
- Molly O'Meara (Worldwatch Institute)

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- Jeremiah Teague (surveyor and harmonicist)
- Oleg Tsaruk (Law and Environment Eurasia Project, Central Asia)
- Doug Weiner (University of Arizona)
- Jeff Zauderer (T'ai Chi naturalist)

Corrections

Our deep apologies to Wes Jackson and to readers for our having cut off the last four words of Wes's article in Whole Earth No. 93. The end of the article, p. 43, should read:

“In other words, the scientific and technical arrangements that a corporation is capable of are not available to the run-of-the-mill breeding program. Hence, a more specialized brand of dependency on a particular kind of economic situation is now developing.”

Two numbers in Malcolm Wells's phone number (Whole Earth No. 93, p. 52) were reversed. The correct number is 508/896-6850. Apologies to Mac and to the nice family in Massachusetts who got all the puzzling calls.

During the editing of Seth Zuckerman's article (Whole Earth No. 93, p. 36), we introduced an error for which Seth was not responsible. Little work has actually been done at Redwoods National Park in “reconstructing and rehabilitating floodplains.” Also, Danny Hagans's name was misspelled. Apologies to Seth and Danny.

Kate Braid's poem, “These Hips” (Whole Earth No. 91, p. 89) was part of the review of *If I Had a Hammer*. We are sorry for any confusion. “These Hips” also appears in *Covering Rough Ground* (1991; Polestar Publishers), Kate Braid's book of poems about being a carpenter.

So here's how we work. We're in the 1,200-square-foot former maids' quarters of the Falkirk House. The floors slant to the north so that chairs with wheels escape our descending butts or sometimes press the belly so close to the computer screens that we dream in pixels. In one room, Mike and I sit separated by a bookcase. There's also a desk for scanning (or for an intern) and a small table which we use for sorting the 200 books we receive each month. Along another wall are the 300 or so books-in-process. Sorting books can be an easy "no" to *Aromatherapy for Astrologers* or very confusing.

In the middle room, which is entered from the outside by a long zigzag ramp for the disabled (see photo of ramp below), are Lyssa, Jon and Winslow. It's a more open, communal, sunny space, but it also includes the photocopier machine which we share with the San Rafael Cultural Center; the shelves where the buckets with manu-

into the wall, and all the financial files and old issues.

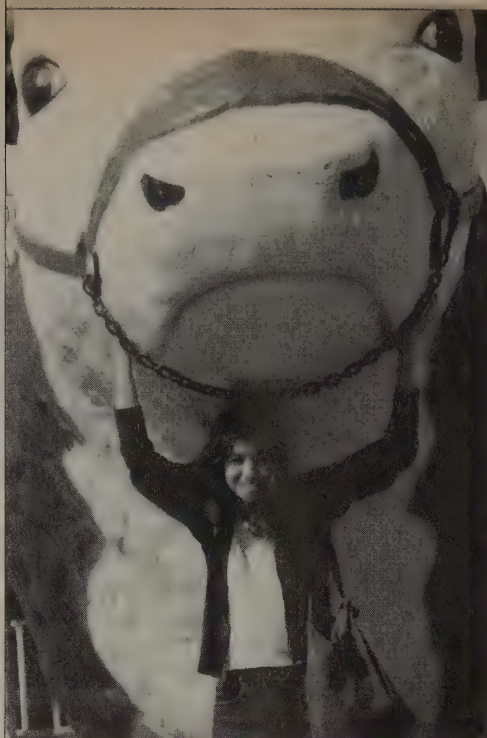
That's it. The bathroom is off the middle room, arrived at by squeezing between the photocopier and the audio equipment. There's also a door to the Marin Poetry Center Reading Room, which serves as a quiet sanctuary and meeting room. In summer, we migrate outside to read copy and manuscripts under a gigantic coastal live oak. This July broke numerous heat records. Along the coast, a striped New Zealand porpoise, a Polynesian tattler, and a rare bristle-thighed curlew showed up. The salmon fishermen moan

as the hot surface waters have sent the salmon deep (to about sixty feet), which makes hook-and-line fishing a bitch. Perry Kirshenblatt brought Danica Remy, our board president, a salmon which she tied up in fresh herbs from her garden. Less than three hours from the sea, the barbecued flesh held perfumes of the ocean and a texture evoking seaweed. Farm-bred or frozen salmon can never authentically sing of the sea. This year, the Oregonian Province commoners whisper loudly: May you return in abundance.

Liz went off to Northwestern to pursue graduate study in journalism. Lyssa Mudd has moved in. Lyssa has been in India a year and speaks Hindi (and Spanish and French). She's remarkable if only because she never got seriously sick in India. She volunteered as a Whole Earth intern, but she was clearly the right editor. We dream of an issue edited in India. Lyssa's taking a copyediting class that puts my memory of the *Chicago Manual* to shame (I always had a hard time with it). Unfortunately, Valerie Harris leaves us as an intern. Her quiet elegance will be missed. We were happy to discover she needed a computer and found one in the attic.

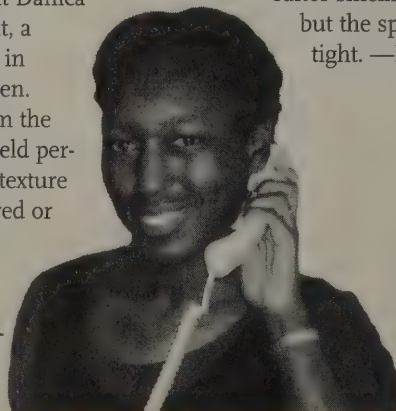
We don't feel as bad about being behind in fundraising now that we know the *New Yorker* loses a million plus a year. But, our 1998 goal is another \$80,000 before January. It's driving the staff nuts because I switch hats and fundraise in the middle of production. My copy and the Gossip column arrive at the last minute. Our pixel farmer loses his normal sweet aplomb. We're adding more Point Foundation Board members. Any suggestions?

You may have noticed that we decided to include some longer articles, an "Updates" page that enriches themes from previous issues, a more open design, and an easier-to-track table of contents. Let us know what you think. At the moment, most other mags are going for the short and zippy (even the *New Yorker*, which used to run a series of articles from one issue to another). It's truly counter-cultural to give readers long articles with background and context. We feel, with this issue, back in stride, except that I'd like another eight pages (maybe sixteen). Ah, the predator editor smells long fine essays but the space in the lair is tight. —PW



scripts, tools and books for the next issue are arranged (vaguely) by theme and domain; the table for mailing; the audio system for daylong rhythm (recently Sonny Terry and Brownie McGee, Nanci Griffith, Greg Brown, ukulele smörgåsbord, Ayub Ogada, Stephan Grapelli...); and a lonely plant. Lyssa's still waiting for drawers and a bookshelf, but we were lucky as Bill Johnson emerged from the past (he was the art designer for the 1976 watershed issue) and donated badly needed computer equipment.

The back room has a door, so Alex and Anna can hawk ads at full volume. It has great windows that slide down



Above: Lyssa embraces a holy cow in Amarillo, Texas.

Left: Valerie practices the zen of no ears listening.

Contributors' Guidelines

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Submissions: We'll send a noncommittal postcard when your manuscript has arrived. We don't return manuscripts unless you include a self-addressed stamped envelope. If we like it, we hang on to it, sometimes 'til two moons rise in the same dawn. We wait for the perfect circumstance, which sometimes doesn't arrive.

Prefrontal queries: Outline your proposed article in detail, 'cause we don't have the staff for long phone discussions. We pay on publication, and can't guarantee a piece will be used until we go to press with it. Sorry—no advance payments or kill fees.

A few tips from the editor: We like your personal voice: intimate, a lively conversation with an attentive friend, but not overly confessional or self-indulgent. We like ideas, thoughts, and events to appear to stand independent and clear of the narrator. Candor: speak

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Be prepared to violate the above guidelines for elegance or to present a compelling point.

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sure the reader knows that you know how it compares with the other stuff. But avoid showing off your great and deep understandings or outlining the whole book. In one or two paragraphs, there's no room to explain.

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Let the excerpts speak. They convey the thought or craft of writing. If you send us a disk, please type the excerpts, noting the page numbers. Or send photocopies with excerpts marked. Don't send us your personal copy of the book!

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Send submissions to Whole Earth, 1408 Mission Avenue, San Rafael, CA 94901; fax 415/256-2808; email: editorial@wholeearthmag.com.

Whole Earth relies on the generous support of its readers and foundations to make ends meet. We gratefully thank all those readers and friends who have given, at any level. (Phone Alex, 415/256-2800, ext. 225, to find out the "perks" offered at each giving level.) Particularly, the following people deserve special thanks:

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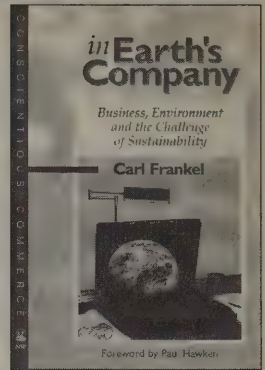
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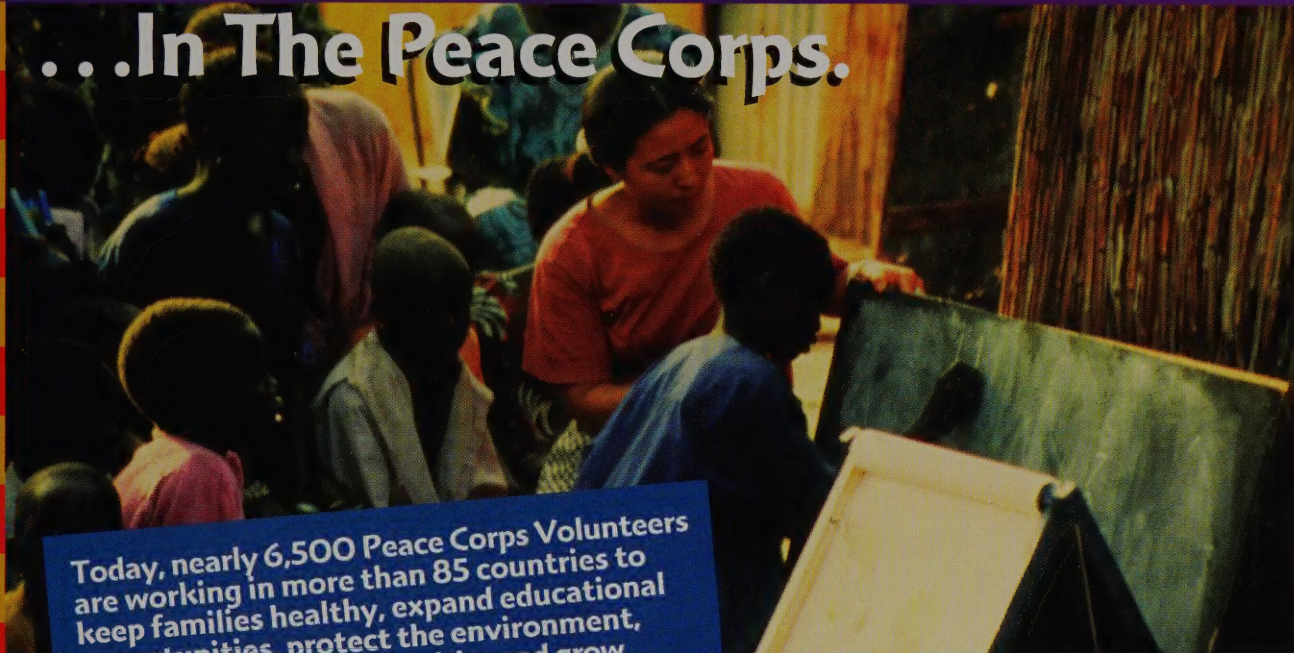
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